

JACOB WILLIAM HEBERLEY OF WELLINGTON: A MAORI CARVER IN A CHANGED WORLD

ROGER NEICH

AUCKLAND MUSEUM

Abstract. The life and work of Jacob William Heberley (1849-1906), Maori carver of Wellington, is examined as one example of the way in which Maori carving made the transition from a tribal art to a modern commercial art. Jacob's family relationships are traced in order to establish the precedents of his art style. It is concluded that Jacob was basically self-taught. Unlike the carvers who made the transition to the modern world by working in a tribal carving school, Jacob worked alone serving mainly European patrons, especially the politicians and collectors of Wellington. Much of his carving was commissioned as official government gifts to visiting royalty. Twenty-two documented carvings by Jacob are described and distinguished from the work of other contemporary carvers. On the basis of this examination, a further 55 items in public and private collections are attributed to the hand of Jacob Heberley. Jacob taught his two nephews, Herbert and Thomas to carve and their subsequent careers are briefly traced, including Herbert's work on a meeting house at Riverhead, Auckland and Thomas's employment as a carver at the Dominion Museum, Wellington.

New Zealand Maori woodcarving is one of those few exceptional "ethnic arts of the fourth world" (Graburn 1976) that have made a successful transition from an indigenous tribal world into the modern world of commercial development, while retaining many features of the original art-form and still meeting some of the needs of the original ethnic group. In New Zealand during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this transition was achieved in two different ways, either by carvers working within an established communal tribal school or by individual carvers working in isolation away from any community of tribal carvers.

In those areas of the country where woodcarving traditions survived into the later part of the nineteenth century, it was generally carvers working within those traditions as members of a communal school who made the transition. This was the case especially around Rotorua, but also in the Urewera, along the lower Wanganui River, and on the East Coast down to Gisborne and northern Hawkes Bay. As the European commercial world penetrated further into these tribal worlds, some of these carving schools managed to span both worlds, continuing to produce art for their own people and additionally for the demands of commercial transactions. Most successful among these were various Arawa carving schools especially Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Pikiao and Ngati Tarawhai, catering for the demands of the tourist trade around Rotorua (Neich 1977; 1983). To a lesser extent, the Rongowhakaata carving school of Poverty Bay and the Waiapu Ngati Porou carving school of the northern East Coast also began to produce items for sale and as commissions in the commercial scene.

Individual carvers working in isolation did sometimes practise in the areas dominated by the traditional communal schools, or at least managed to maintain some degree of independence from the community of carvers. An example is Tene Waitere of Ngati Tarawhai (Neich 1990). However, it was especially in those areas of the country where the traditional communal schools of carving had declined or disappeared that the individual carver was able to make his own impression on the nature of this transition. Some of these individual carvers had been traditionally trained in the old schools but had then branched out into the commercial scene on their own initiative. Patoromu Tamatea and Ihakara (Aukaha) of Ngati Pikiao are such individuals, as will be explained below. Others had not come through a traditional school but were self-taught, developing their own distinctive individual style, and supplying their own market. Jacob Heberley (1849-1906), the Wellington carver whose life and work are described in this article, was a prime example of this latter type of development (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Jacob Heberley of Wellington. Photo: National Museum.

Apparently self-taught and with only tenuous historical links to an extinct ancestral Te Ati Awa carving tradition, Jacob forged his own distinct carving style that he applied to all sorts of innovative objects, as well as to replicas of traditional objects then totally obsolete in the life around him. Most of Jacob's production was for prominent Europeans, either resident in the Wellington area or for distinguished visitors to New Zealand. Jacob and his work were known personally to such people as Sir Robert and Lady Stout, Richard John Seddon, Sir Walter Buller, Alexander Turnbull, Lord Ranfurly, T.E. Donne of the Government Tourist Department, Sir Julius Vogel and Sir Joseph Ward. Among these prominent Pakeha New Zealanders, Jacob was known by the English version of his name, but among his family he was also addressed by the Maori version of Hakopa Heperi, and his wife Sarah apparently sometimes used Heperi as her surname. Although he never seems to have been involved in major carving projects for Maori people, several of his smaller items such as walking sticks and ceremonial handclubs did become accepted and were passed on as tribal heirlooms by prominent Maori personalities among various tribal groups. Most importantly, through his work, Jacob played a major role in contributing to the acceptance of contemporary Maori woodcarving as a powerful expression of New Zealand's national identity, regarded as an appropriate gift to visiting royalty and other distinguished visitors, or to be featured as a decoration for New Zealand's stately homes.

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Jacob was the son of James Heberley, an English/German whaler of Queen Charlotte Sound, and his Maori wife variously known as Te Wai, Mata Te Naehi, Mata Te Naihi or Te Wai Nahi (Fig. 2).

James was born in Weymouth, Devon in 1809 of a German father and English mother and went to sea at the early age of ten or eleven. After many adventures in various ships including whalers in the Pacific, James settled at John Guard's whaling station at Te Awaiti, Queen Charlotte Sound in 1830 (Heberley 1947; MacDonald 1933; Stratford n.d.). Here, James found himself in the midst of continuing skirmishes between Te Rauparaha's Ngati Toa and the peoples of the South Island. At first he had to live in a Maori raised storehouse or whata and soon became known as 'tangata whata' which was corrupted to *Worser*, the nickname he bore for the rest of his life. Present day family members relate this nickname to his habit of warning that the weather would get "wors(er) and wors(er)".

Later in the same year of 1830 or early 1831 James took a Maori wife as he described in his memoirs:

" . . . in Port Underwood, it was there I took a wife I bought her for a blanket, she was not a slave, it is a rule to give something to their friends, I then took her to Te-Awaite, and she has reared a large family, we got married as soon as the missionary came amongst us the name of the missionary was Ironside, . . . "

(Heberley 1947:20)

In his memoirs, James himself gives very little information on the tribal origins or connections of his wife. At one stage when James and his family were staying at Kapiti, the intertribal fighting became so dangerous that "I took my boat and two

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 2. James Heberley and Te Wai. Photo: Alexander Turnbull Library.

natives to pull with me to a place called Waikinie [Waikanae] to land my wife and child among her own tribe” (Heberley 1947:22).

The people of Waikanae belonged to the Ati Awa tribe, as did the Maori of Wellington and Queen Charlotte Sound, having settled in all these areas since their migration from northern Taranaki with Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa, in the 1820s.

In evidence given before the Land Claims Commission in June, 1843, James made the following statements:

“I am married to a Native woman. I arrived in Queen Charlotte Sound in the “Waterloo” schooner 15 years ago and I have lived from that time to the present with my Native wife E Wai by whom I have had four children, all of whom are now living, the three eldest having been baptised by Mr Ironside the Wesleyan missionary. Eldest is named Margaret, 2nd John, 3rd Sarah. The youngest boy is not yet baptised. He is 14 months old . . . My wife’s friends lived at Pepitia [Pipitea?] and she is related to the chiefs of the tribe there. John Pukekura came to me in the Sounds about 4 years ago — he said that if I would come and live at Pepitea he would give me land to cultivate for the children. He did not tell me how much but said it would be at Pepitia . . .”

(OLC. 1041. National Archives)

On the same file are copies of the baptism and marriage certificates signed by Rev. Samuel Ironside. On the marriage certificate his wife is described as “Te Wai a New Zealand female.”

From other sources, the Ati Awa origin of James’s wife can be confirmed and her name is variously given as Te Wai, Mata Te Naihi, Mata Te Naehi, Te Nahi, or Te Wai Nahi. However, the exact tribal genealogical relationships of Te Wai have remained something of a mystery to her living descendants, despite intensive archival research on their part (Thessman 1988). These family connections of Te Wai are also of interest for our study of Jacob as a Maori carver, for the light they may shed on the antecedents of his art and the possible identity of any carving teacher who may have inspired him.

Recorded Maori relatives of Te Wai include John Pukekura of Pipitea, Kopurie also probably of Pipitea (OLC. 1041, National Archives), and Ropoama Te One who gave James some land in Tory Channel (OLC. 1041, National Archives). James also stated that he was given land at Worser Bay, Wellington in 1843 by his wife’s uncle and grandfather, but without being clear whether these were the same as any of the individuals named above (Heberley 1947:40; MacDonald 1933:117). Another source (Neville Gilmore, Department of Maori Affairs, pers. comm. to Mrs Miriam Heberley) stated that Mata Te Naihi was a cousin of Haneta Toea who was married to Ropoama Te One. There has even been a suggestion, current among some Heberley descendants and reported in the archives of the Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormon) Genealogy Centre, Hamilton, that Te Wai was a daughter of Honiana Te Puni, a prominent chief of Te Ati Awa at Petone, but this is very unlikely. Another family record states that Mata Te Naihi belonged to the Ngatiwhirikura hapu of Te Ati Awa, based at Waikawa, Picton.

An important mention of Te Wai or Mata Te Naehi located in official records occurs in a genealogy from a Wellington Maori Land Court sitting of 27 February 1888 (Fig. 3). The notes to this genealogy state that Mata Te Naehi went to Arapawa, presumably Arapawa Island in the Marlborough Sounds and died there. She had married a European and gave birth to Mere Maki who also married a European. The relevance of this genealogy for an understanding of Te Wai's ancestry is still somewhat unclear (Thessman 1988), although Mrs Miriam Heberley (pers. comm. 6 March 1990) has pointed out that Mere Maki is another name for Mary-Ann Heberley, also known as Margaret, the first-born child of James and Te Wai. Mary-Ann was born at Queen Charlotte Sound in 1832 and married a European named Robert Woodgate on 5 July 1854. Therefore this genealogy does seem to agree with other information on Te Wai although it does not really help with an understanding of her status and hapu affiliations within Te Ati Awa.

Another Land Court record (Fig. 4) locates Mata Te Naihi within an extended version of this same genealogy, although there are some differences in the details of names and relationships.

The name of Mata Te Naihi's mother has been spelt variously in family records and land court minutes as Manupoingu, Manukoingu, Manukanga and Manukoma. An unreferenced 1923 newspaper obituary of Mrs Elizabeth Love, who was the daughter of Margaret Heberley and Robert Woodgate, mentioned that "her great grandmother was a famous member of Ngati Awa tribe Manukanga who fought against the Wanganui tribes".

Ropoama Te One who is mentioned as a relative of Te Wai was a prominent chief of Te Ati Awa residing at Queen Charlotte Sound. He was well known to people such as Sir Donald McLean and Reverend Octavius Hadfield. Ropoama was considered by these people as an important potential chiefly influence in the Waitara land dispute but his absence from Waitara precluded the exercise of any effective authority (Sinclair 1951:62). Whatever the details of Te Wai's whakapapa, she clearly had important chiefly connections that would have provided her children with access to the support and teaching of other high-ranking Te Ati Awa, including any practising carvers.

Between 1832 and 1854, James and Te Wai had eight children, with Jacob William being the sixth child, born at Queen Charlotte Sound in 1849. The first three children were baptised by the Rev. Samuel Ironside at Cloudy Bay on 13 December 1841, the same day that he formally married James and Te Wai.

Over the years between 1832 and the end of the century, James and his family lived an eventful life. In the first few years of their life together they had frequently to look out for their personal safety in the fighting that flared up periodically among Ngati Toa, Te Ati Awa, Ngati Raukawa and Ngai Tahu in the lands bordering Cook Strait. In August 1939, James served as the local pilot for the New Zealand Company ship "Tory" as it explored the Wellington Harbour area. Later in the same year, in December, James climbed Mount Egmont (Mount Taranaki) with Dr. Dieffenbach, returning to Wellington to be employed as Harbour Pilot by the New Zealand Company for the next two years. James often commuted across Cook Strait in a 14

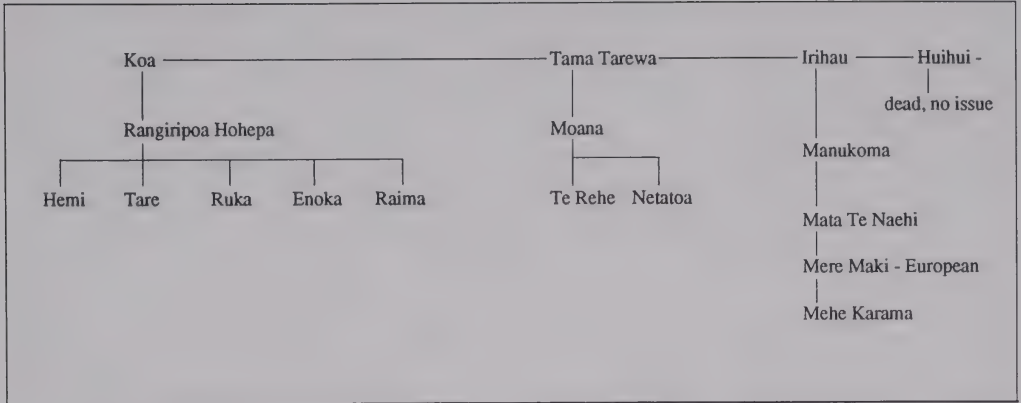


Fig. 3. Genealogy, Maori Land Court, Wellington Minute Book No. 1: 242-3.

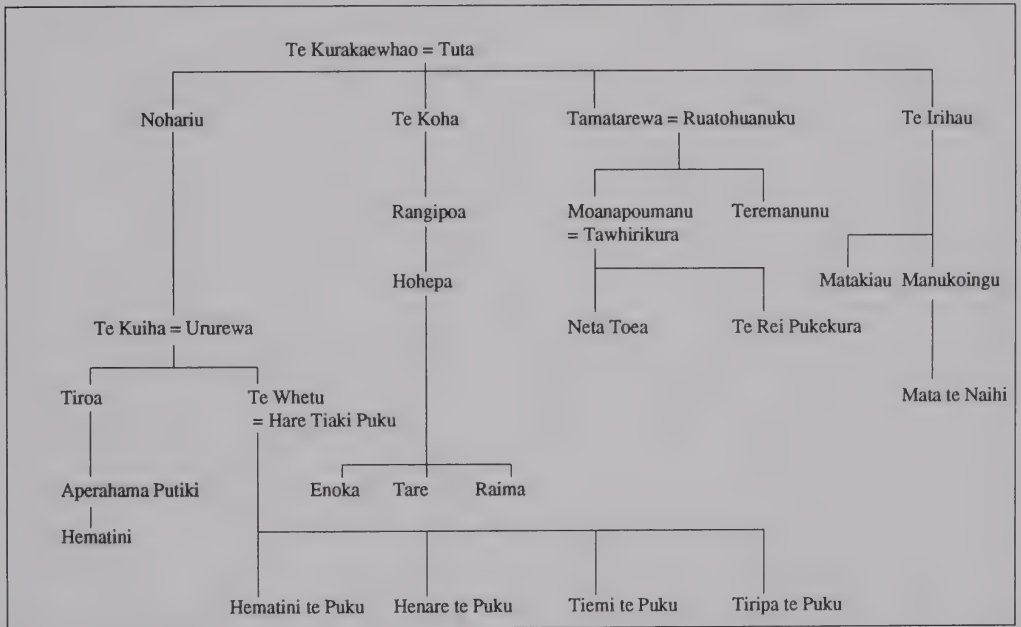


Fig. 4. Genealogy, Maori Land Court, Nelson Minute Book No. 1: 160, 209.

feet long open boat between Wellington and Queen Charlotte Sound. By the time that Jacob was born in 1849, intertribal fighting had ceased in the Cook Strait area and the new European settlement of Wellington was already nine years old.

Te Wai died on 25 June 1877, probably at Picton or elsewhere in Queen Charlotte Sound and is said to have been buried at Oyster Bay in Tory Channel. After a second marriage at the age of 70 in 1879, James died by drowning in Picton Harbour on 26 September 1899 and was buried either beside Te Wai at Oyster Bay or near the present Picton Museum (Charles Heberley, pers. comm. 1991).

THE LIFE OF JACOB HEBERLEY

One family record gives the date of Jacob's birth as 11 April 1849, but virtually nothing is known of his early life. Presumably he grew up around Queen Charlotte Sound and in Wellington, as his father moved between the two centres. The Wellington Electoral Roll for 1857 lists James Heberley of Queen Charlotte Sound as the owner of freehold land at Pipitea Pa, Wellington, probably a section in the angle formed by Pipitea Street and Thorndon Quay although the deeds to this land were later declared invalid.

Jacob next emerges into history as a young man living at Petone. His earliest known dated carving, a large ornate bowl with figure supports, is said to have been carved at Petone in 1869, that is, when Jacob was just 20 years old. Family members are now unsure as to what Jacob actually did for a living since he was almost certainly not a full-time carver. In about 1874 Jacob moved to Greytown in the Wairarapa where he was listed as a "freeholder". While living in Greytown Jacob met his future wife Sarah McLachlan who had been born in Christchurch. Three years after arriving in Greytown, Jacob married Sarah on 30 August 1877 at the home of Sarah's step-father. Their first three children were born in Greytown. Jacob must have continued to practise carving while living in Greytown because at least two walking sticks and one patu which can be firmly attributed to his hand have particular Greytown or Wairarapa provenances. Later he moved back to Wellington city where he rented his home, perhaps indicating a downturn in his financial status (Miriam Heberley pers. comm. 6 March 1990). In 1889, after the death of their father Joseph, Jacob's two young nephews, Thomas aged 13 and Herbert aged 12, came to live with their uncle and his family in Petone. Both Thomas and Herbert soon became accomplished Maori carvers under their uncle's tutelage. Jacob and Sarah eventually had eight children. Their youngest and last surviving son, Cyril Llewelyn Heberley, was born in Wellington in 1893 (*Evening Post*, 22 September 1975). Jacob was especially active as a carver producing works on commission for the Government and other prominent Wellington citizens in the years of 1901 and 1902. This carving activity in such a public arena brought Jacob moderate fame as an artist for the last few years of his life.

Jacob died in Wellington on 28 June 1906 and an obituary appeared in three newspapers. That in the *Evening Post* was the most comprehensive:

"Deaths. Heberley — On the 28th June 1906 at his residence 24 Ohiro Road, Jacob William, dearly beloved husband of Sarah Heberley, aged 56 years.

The late Mr Jacob Heberley, who died in Wellington on Thursday night was a remarkably skilled Maori carver as well as an artist of no mean order. It was Mr Heberley who carved the Maori walking stick that was presented to His Majesty the King by the late Mr. Seddon. While Lord Ranfurly was in NZ, Mr Heberley executed several commissions for him and he also carved the Maori works of art presented to the Prince and Princess of Wales on their visit to the colony in 1901. The late premier was a great admirer of Mr Heberley's work and it was on Mr Seddon's suggestion that he was entrusted with the work of carving a Maori frame in which the illuminated address from the people of NZ was presented to King Edward. Mr Heberley was 56 years of age at the time of his death. The funeral takes place tomorrow."

(*Evening Post*, 30 June 1906, p. 1.5)

A shorter and slightly variant version was published in the *New Zealand Times* on Friday 29 June and in the *Hutt and Petone Chronicle* on Saturday 30 June 1906, which read:

“Mr Jacob Heberley, the well-known Maori carver, formerly of Petone, died in Wellington on Thursday night, after a long illness. The deceased was a very clever craftsman. He carved the specimens of Maori art presented to the Princess of Wales when her Highness was in Wellington. He also did a considerable amount of similar work for Lord Ranfurly and carved a walking stick for his Majesty the King. Mr Heberley was 56 years of age.”

According to the funeral notice in the *New Zealand Times*, Jacob was to be interred in Karori Cemetery on Sunday 1 July at 3 p.m.

Apart from their interesting content, these obituaries are also revealing in the attitudes towards Maori carving held by Europeans of that time. They emphasise the aspects of “skill” and “craftsmanship” which are needed to produce well-formed “specimens”, concentrating on the formal qualities of the works without reference to any embodied meaning or content. “Artistic” ability is seen as a distinct attribute which Jacob also displayed, with the implication that only exceptional carvers such as Jacob possessed it. Lesser carvers may have had the skill but lacked the “artistic” ability. There seems to be a muted surprise that Maori carving should be regarded as an appropriate gift to royalty, that it needed the patronage of prominent Europeans to make this acceptable, and that it was a privilege for Jacob to be entrusted with this work. Family members say that Jacob was also known as a painter of portraits in the European style and a portrait of Worsler by Jacob is held by descendants (Edward Chambers, pers. comm. 16 February 1991). Grady (1978:pl.44) reproduces this portrait of James which is a very accomplished work of art. Perhaps Jacob’s role as a portrait painter may have contributed to his acceptance as an “artist” in the special sense described above.

THE ORIGINS OF JACOB’S CARVING STYLE

Jacob was born into an area with a complicated art history. Fortunately, artefact collections and ethnographic observations made by early European visitors provide some understanding of the art and material culture prevalent there during a period of about eighty years before Jacob’s birth in 1849.

Maori artefacts collected in Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770, 1773-1774, and 1777 during Captain James Cook’s three expeditions to New Zealand reflect the presence of a strong distinctive local culture persisting through this time, but with influences and objects intruding from other tribal areas in the northern South Island, from the Horowhenua-Wanganui-Taranaki regions of the western North Island, and from the East Coast of the North Island (Simmons 1981). Nearly fifty years later, in 1820, Captain F.G. Bellingshausen of the Russian Navy arrived in Queen Charlotte Sound. Collections and observations made by his scientists document a continuation of the local culture from the time of Cook, but with strong influences from outside Queen Charlotte Sound. Most of these influences emanated from the Wanganui-Taranaki

area and the East Coast of the North Island. Woodcarving especially shows the evidence of these two northern influences reaching into Queen Charlotte Sound in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Barratt 1979; Simmons 1981).

Very soon after the departure of Bellingshausen, major tribal movements into the Cook Strait region from the Waikato and Taranaki areas drastically altered the tribal composition and distribution of the peoples around Queen Charlotte Sound and Wellington. Driven by their powerful neighbours from the north and attracted by new lands and access to European goods, groups of Ngati Toa from Kawhia, Ngati Raukawa from the southern Waikato, and several tribal groups from northern Taranaki, all moved into the Wellington-Manawatu region in the 1820s and early 1830s, conquering and displacing the original tribes. Ngati Toa took over Kapiti and the Porirua area, Te Ati Awa occupied Wellington Harbour and both these tribes extended into Queen Charlotte Sound, with Te Ati Awa becoming predominant in the Sound. James 'Worser' Heberley arrived in Queen Charlotte Sound as these two tribes were consolidating their occupation. By the time that Jacob was born in 1849, the new tribal distribution was well established. This same new tribal pattern is essentially the one that persisted through Jacob's lifetime and into the present day.

Te Ati Awa and Ngati Toa both brought their own very distinctive art styles with them into the Queen Charlotte Sound area, completely replacing the earlier styles documented by Cook and Bellingshausen. Ngati Toa woodcarving style favoured full-frontal or full-profile, squat, square ancestor figures, separated from each other in multiple-figure compositions. Te Ati Awa were one of the major exponents of the northern Taranaki style of woodcarving, characterised by complex sinuous figures with elongated bodies and limbs often intertwined and linking with neighbouring figures in a composition.

George French Angas, the artist who travelled through the Wellington-Porirua-Queen Charlotte Sound areas in 1844 documented the co-existence of these two unrelated styles. At Mana Island, Angas painted exterior and interior views and details of the ornate house that Te Rangihaeata of Ngati Toa had built and carved for himself in magnificent Tainui Ngati Toa style. In Queen Charlotte Sound, Angas painted views of colourful burial monuments decorated with kowhaiwhai patterns, set up by Ngati Toa to honour their dead. At Kaiwharawhara in Wellington Harbour, Angas painted the house of Taringakuri, a Te Ati Awa chief, taking special care to document the Taranaki style tekoteko (Angas 1847, 1972). At Petone in the 1840s, William Fox painted the gateway of Te Puni's pa, apparently attempting to depict the curved and linked figures of Taranaki woodcarving style (Butler 1980:42). At Waikanae, William Swainson sketched huge Te Ati Awa carved stockade posts left abandoned after many of Te Ati Awa had returned to Waitara with Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake in 1848 (Carkeek 1966:86; Macmorran 1977:13). No doubt many other Te Ati Awa settlements in the Sounds and Wellington were equipped with important carved art-works, now sadly lost.

In all probability, some of this artistic profusion survived into the years of Jacob's childhood, providing him with models and inspiration to guide his later work. Many of the Queen Charlotte Sound Maori families also retained tribal heirlooms carved in these styles that Jacob would have seen around their homes. No information is

available as to how or from whom Jacob might have learnt his art. Circumstantial evidence regarding the demise of traditional Te Ati Awa carving in this area suggests that Jacob was probably self-taught.

Ngati Toa carvers had continued to practise their art at Porirua into the later years of the nineteenth century, periodically refreshed by training and new recruits from their Tainui relatives in the Waikato where carving still flourished.

One such Waikato-trained carver active at Porirua and Otaki in the later years of the nineteenth century was Piwiri Horohau of the Ngati Huia hapu of Ngati Raukawa. He did the carvings for Kikopiri house near Levin in 1889 and for the original Toa-Rangatira meeting house at Porirua in 1900 (Phillipps 1955:24, 43). Piwiri also began producing model houses and various other forms of small carved boxes, tobacco containers and vases, for sale and as gifts, probably at about the same period as Jacob. Jacob may have had contact with some of these carvers but his Te Ati Awa connections would probably have pre-disposed him to look to Te Ati Awa carvers for teaching and inspiration. However, among local Te Ati Awa of Wellington and the Sounds in the 1850s and 1860s, woodcarving was virtually already a lost art. Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaake had carved a magnificent war canoe prow in Wellington some time prior to his return to Waitara in 1848 (Archey 1977:59; Carkeek 1966:86). Other Te Ati Awa carvers were probably among the large party who left the Wellington-Waikanae area for Waitara with Wiremu Kingi. When Wi Tako Ngatata built his famous storehouse named Nukutewhatewha in the Hutt Valley in 1856, he invited carving experts from outside the area to carry out the work, from Ngati Porou according to Phillipps (1952:107), but from Ngati Tuwharetoa according to McEwen (1966:425) who was told this by Ngati Tuwharetoa elders who had known the carvers personally (J.M. McEwen, pers. comm. 11 November 1990). Also judging by the carving style of the storehouse, these experts were definitely from Ngati Tuwharetoa. In 1860 when he became one of the more outspoken advocates of the Maori King Movement in the Wellington district, Wi Tako moved to Waikanae with his followers and built a large meeting house there to serve as a Kingite headquarters (Carkeek 1966:95). According to Taylor (1870:344) every part of this house "had a symbolic meaning attached to it" but the identity of the carvers is not recorded. There is no evidence of any development of a Te Ati Awa tourist art in the Wellington or Sounds area during the period of the 1860s when Jacob must have been learning his art.

With this decline and eventual demise of Te Ati Awa carving, Jacob was also denied the opportunity to have learnt his art on communal carving projects. When he was ready to learn carving in the mid-1860s, the great carved war canoes were rapidly becoming obsolete. Small plain dugout canoes were still used on Wellington Harbour and about the Sounds but the place of the large war and voyaging canoes had been taken by whaleboats and small sailing ships. Large fully carved meeting houses assumed the role previously played by war canoes as a focus of hapu and iwi pride and prestige, but few large carved houses were built in the Wellington area and none in the Sounds. Jacob never did work on any large tribal carving projects.

An examination of the figural types and motifs used by Jacob suggests that he was eclectic, combining features from various areas and styles to create his own distinctive personal style. Some of his favourite motifs, such as his abbreviated manaia, his pointed oval rauponga sections, and aspects of his kowhaiwhai patterns,

were probably as much his own invention as they were adaptations of traditional types. Nevertheless, some of his pakati notches do show a strong Taranaki style similarity, while others could be matched with Arawa types.

Without any involvement in major tribal projects, the types of objects that he developed in his repertoire were determined by impersonal market forces and by the needs of highly selective commissions for special purposes. Thus his repertoire included replicas of wahaika and kotiate designed to show off his carving virtuosity, models of traditional objects no longer extant such as storehouses, walking sticks that appealed to both Maori and Pakeha gentlemen, elaborately carved wakahuia evolved from traditional types, and various completely non-traditional objects such as carved frames (Fig. 5).

DOCUMENTED CARVINGS BY JACOB HEBERLEY


A total of 22 carvings can be documented with varying degrees of certainty as being the work of Jacob Heberley. They have been identified by study in museums, archives and private collections in New Zealand and worldwide. For some of these carvings, Jacob is actually recorded in museum registers and other written sources as the carver. Others can be identified as his work by appearing in photographs that establish their link to him. Still others can be deduced to be his work by their mention in oral histories retained among Heberley family members or associates. In a few rare cases, the general circumstances of the commission are recorded in contemporary documents. Only one object, a treasure box (Catalogue number 9) actually has Jacob's name attached to it, imprinted by a metal stamp, a sure sign of Jacob's involvement in the commercial world.

Judging by the dates of Jacob's documented carvings, he was active as a carver at least sporadically throughout his adult life, commencing with a bowl in 1869 and ending with a model storehouse, carved frame and walking stick in 1902. Throughout this long carving career, Jacob maintained a very high standard of skill and finish, with no apparent decline in quality in later life. Nor did his work become either more or less ornate as so often happened with other carvers in the course of their working life. This constancy through time makes it virtually impossible to date Jacob's carvings relatively within his career solely by their appearance.

The range of Jacob's oeuvre is impressive, encompassing figure-supported bowls, other types of bowls and containers, feeding funnels, walking sticks, various types of short clubs, long clubs such as taiaha, tewhatewha and pouwhenua, paddles, treasure boxes, model canoes, weaving pegs, combs, various pendants, model storehouses, a door lintel, an agricultural tool and a shark-toothed knife. Most of this work was carved in soft woods but Jacob was equally competent in whalebone. However, despite the apparent diversity, there are three important regularities in this total assemblage of 77 objects.

Firstly, apart from the door lintel, all are small portable self-contained items, eminently suitable for personal transport and presentation. Secondly, the diversity is actually highly selective when considered against the total range of Maori material culture. A carver working in the traditional milieu was involved in the production of

many different types of items. The most important proportion of these would have been components of complex architectural structures and canoes produced by teams of carvers working in concert. In strong contrast, all of Jacob's output consists of individual items each made for a separate purpose. The third regularity is that Jacob's carvings were all designed to fulfil a symbolic or ceremonial purpose and not a practical instrumental function. This applies even to his walking sticks which are often structurally quite weak. Therefore, Jacob's products are all either reduced-scale models, full-sized replicas, or totally non-traditional objects.



For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 5. Jacob Heberley with a selection of his carvings. Photo: Courtesy of Mrs Puti Hookings, Parkstone, Dorset.

These three regularities are obviously a result of the special nature of Jacob's patronage. Instead of supplying functional objects for use in an intact traditional Maori society, Jacob was apparently almost totally immersed in a European-dominated art market in which his Maori family and Maori associates were very minor participants. Most important among his patrons were the prominent European collectors of Maori curios, individual politicians, and government departments commissioning gifts for distinguished visitors. Naturally, these are also the sort of patrons who would be most likely to leave records of their association with Jacob, as opposed to any Maori associates or anonymous tourists. Nevertheless, the evidence of Jacob's surviving works also supports this concentration on a local European market.

1. Figure-supported bowl, kumete. Figures 6, 7.

Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 7903.

Provenance: Alexander Turnbull Collection.

History: "Carved by J. Heberley at Petone 1869" according to National Museum register.

Size: 51 cm long, 35 cm wide, 46 cm high.

Description: According to the National Museum register entry for ME. 7903, this bowl was "carved by J. Heberley at Petone 1869". However, this same bowl had been registered twice earlier as ME. 4632 and ME. 2468, as "carved bowl by Heberley". It is only the later registration under ME. 7903 that introduces the information that the bowl was carved at Petone in 1869. Perhaps by the time this later registration was made in about 1956, some further information had become available, although no other documentation has been located. The bowl was presented to the museum on 14 December 1911 as part of the extensive Alexander Turnbull Collection of Maori and Pacific artefacts. Augustus Hamilton, the Director of the museum, had seen and photographed this bowl prior to 1911 while it was still in Turnbull's private collection. Hamilton mounted the photograph in his New Zealand Institute "Record Collection of Photographs of the Ethnology of the Maori Race" (Number 937), describing it as "a modern Maori carving" with no reference to Heberley. It was figured by Rowe (1928:Fig. 18) as an outstanding example of "Maori artistry". If the date is correct, this is by far the earliest piece of carving known from the hand of Jacob Heberley, who in fact would only have been aged twenty in 1869. It is an extremely accomplished work for such a young carver and therefore may actually belong to a later date.

Measuring 46 cm high with the lid on, the bowl features a male tattooed figure with naturalistic face at each end, supporting a deep container decorated with whakarare surface patterns and a koruru type of stylised face on the sides. The detachable lid has the same whakarare surface patterns surrounding two raised relief frogs touching mouth-to-mouth. This work displays many of the stylistic characteristics that

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 6-9. Figure-supported bowls. 6, 7. Catalogue 1. 8, 9. Catalogue 2. Photos: National Museum.

make Jacob's style so distinctive. Of particular note are the naturalistic faces, the deep triangular space left between curving rauponga (as seen on the figures' elbows), a deft sureness of line, delicate and neat inlay shellwork, and an overall neatness of execution leading to a rather static and motionless expression. Jacob carved other bowls like this one and he also used many of these motifs in his other compositions.

2. Figure-supported bowl, kumete. Figures 8, 9.

Repository: Unknown.

Provenance: Known only from photographs.

History: Said to have been carved for Lord Ranfurly.

Size: Not available.

Description: This bowl is known only from three photographs. Two of these photographs show it as a finished object, one in end and one in side view. These two photographs were mounted among a photographic collage of Jacob's work, along with a portrait of Jacob, surrounding the text of his obituary (Copy photograph, Auckland Museum Negative number C. 3943). An earlier photograph (Fig. 5) shows Jacob standing beside some of his work, including this bowl in an unfinished state. At the time of this photograph, the shape of the bowl had been formed and some of the surface decoration was just being outlined into the side of the bowl. Judging by the age of Jacob in this photograph, the bowl was probably completed in the later years of his life. Heberley family records note that the bowl was carved for Lord Ranfurly but it cannot be identified in the catalogue of the Ranfurly collection (Montgomery 1922).

The photographs of the finished bowl show an object very similar to Catalogue number 1, but perhaps slightly smaller and certainly more elaborate. Bowl 2 has additional surface decoration, an extra notched embellishment around the eyes of the koruru on the side of the bowl, and an extra band of low-relief kowhaiwhai around the upper rim of the bowl. This type of kowhaiwhai patterned relief was another favourite motif of Jacob's, occurring frequently in his other works.

3. Walking stick, tokotoko. Figures 10, 11.

Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 12066.

Provenance: Collection of Mrs Pain, Martinborough, Wairarapa.

History: Carved by Jacob Heberley in 1872.

Size: 90.5cm long.

Description: In a manuscript list of the Pain Collection, this tokotoko is described as "stick carved by J. Heberley in 1872". Possibly carved by Jacob in the Wairarapa although apparently dated two years before he went to live there, this tokotoko is a very

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 10-13. Walking sticks. 10, 11. Catalogue 3. 12, 13. Catalogue 4.

accomplished piece of carving. It sets the pattern followed, with some variation, by all of Jacob's walking sticks produced throughout his carving career. Then, this same pattern was maintained with remarkable consistency by all those later carvers who were taught or influenced by Jacob.

As usual, the upper figure here is male, with a stylised body and naturalistic head bearing male tattoo. The head is extended into a looped handle carved with Jacob's characteristic kowhaiwhai and manaia. Again, as usual, the lower figure is female but Jacob often introduced wider variation into the degree of naturalism or stylisation of this woman. In this case, both her head and body are strongly stylised which contrasts with the extreme naturalism of some of his other female tokotoko figures. Below these two figures, a standard manaia head with bulbous mouth surmounts a zone of incised kowhaiwhai on the straight shaft.

4. Walking stick, tokotoko. Figures 12, 13.
 Repository: Hastings Cultural Centre, 717.
 Provenance: George Ebbett Collection
 History: Carved by Jacob in about 1896.
 Size: 90.5 cm long.
 Description: Collection registers and an old label state that this walking stick was carved by Jacob in about 1896. It displays most of the features associated with Jacob's characteristic tokotoko design. The head of the upper naturalistic male figure is extended into a loop handle. As usual with Jacob, the face of the male figure bears a very detailed tattoo and the eyes are represented by neatly shaped shell inserts. Below the male figure is a female with a chin tattoo and straight hair, cupping her exposed breasts with her long fingers. Below this woman, a stylised face surmounts the shaft decorated with rolling spirals. The handle loop has lightly incised kowhaiwhai patterns.
5. Walking stick, tokotoko
 Repository: Royal Collection, England.
 Provenance: Presented to King Edward VII by Richard John Seddon, 1902.
 History: Commissioned by Seddon from Jacob.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: Mentioned in Jacob's obituaries, this is the walking stick commissioned by Richard John Seddon for him to present to King Edward VII at his coronation in London on 9 August 1902. Without having seen this walking stick, it can only be assumed that it conformed to the usual composition of sticks carved by Jacob, as do all his other known examples.
6. Walking stick, tokotoko.
 Repository: Private collection, Marlborough Sounds.
 Provenance: Still held by descendants.
 History: Carved by Jacob for his father (E. Chambers, pers. comm, 16 February 1991).
 Size: Not available.
 Description: According to family tradition, this is the walking stick that James Heberley was holding when he died.
7. Whalebone club, wahaika. Figure 14.
 Repository: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles. X65-1417.
 Provenance: Sir Henry Wellcome Collection.
 History: Carved by Jacob and previously owned by Tamahau Mahupuku of Greytown, Wairarapa.
 Size: 38.3 cm long.
 Description: Lord Ranfurly obtained this club during his term as Governor-General of New Zealand. When the Ranfurly collection was sold by public auction in Ireland in 1922, the catalogue entry for this wahaika read as follows: "Whalebone mere, modern,

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 14. Whalebone club. Catalogue 7.

made by Heberley of Petone. Belonged to the chief Tamahau Mahupuku of Greytown, NZ. Given by his widow in 1904" (Montgomery 1922:Lot 823). From this auction, the club passed into the hands of Sir Henry Wellcome and eventually to the Museum of Cultural History at the University of California, Los Angeles (Carter 1965:11, 17).

Tamahau Mahupuku was a prominent chief and politician at the Maori settlement of Papawai, a few miles to the east of Greytown where Jacob lived for several years around the time of his marriage and afterwards. No doubt Jacob had some contact with Tamahau Mahupuku. This is one of the few instances where a carving firmly documented to Jacob can then be documented to have passed into Maori hands.

The abbreviated manaia figure protruding from the blade is an innovation by Jacob, much larger than the usual figure on a traditional functional wahaika, and very vulnerable to damage. Obviously, this club is a purely ceremonial object, never intended for use in combat.

8. Bone pendant. Figure 15.

- Repository: Private collection, Pauanui.
 Provenance: Held by grandson of Mary Ann Tattle.
 History: Made by Jacob and given to his landlady in Petone.
 Size: 7.4 cm long, 2.4 cm wide.
 Description: According to her grandson, Mary Ann Tattle owned property in the Wellington area and Jacob Heberley was a tenant in one of her houses in Petone (Bernard Tattle, pers. comm. 8 December 1990). Jacob gave this pendant to his landlady and it has been held by the Tattle family ever since. A Tattle family tradition also states that "Jacob taught Lady Ranfurly to carve in Maori style".

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 15. Bone pendant. Catalogue 8.

This small bone pendant, probably whalebone, reproduces in miniature all of the characteristic features seen in full-size patu carved by Jacob. The same manaia with foot-in-mouth is most prominent. Despite the small size, Jacob's personal carving style is clearly apparent. Ear pendants in the form of a miniature patu like this were popular for a period around the turn of the century.

9. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 16.

Repository: General Assembly Library, Wellington.

Provenance: Richard John Seddon memorabilia.

History: Carved by Jacob, probably commissioned by Seddon.

Size: 49.5 cm long, 14.3 cm wide, 16 cm high.

Description: The underside of the lid is marked HETA TE KANI in ink, while on the inside at the bottom of the box is stamped: J.W. Heberley, Maori Carver, Wellington. Nothing is known of the occasion for which this box was made, whether it was a gift to Seddon or whether it was intended to be presented to Heta Te Kani. The metal stamp showing Jacob's name and trade is an interesting indication of his involvement with the commercial world.

The box itself is a very standard product of Jacob's art, adapted from the form of a traditional wakahuia but given a flat uncarved base on which to rest and displaying enlarged stylised heads protruding on non-traditional and rather ungainly straight cylindrical necks. Jacob's characteristic low relief whakarare and kowhaiwhai patterns fill two bands around the body of the box. The eyes of all the faces are embellished with neat circular paua shell inlays and another of Jacob's trademarks are the bulbous tongues protruding from wide open mouths lined with a series of small homogenous teeth.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 16-19. Treasure boxes. 16. Catalogue 9. 17. Catalogue 10. Photo: *New Zealand Graphic*. 18. Catalogue 11. Photo: National Museum. 19. Catalogue 12. Photo: Courtesy of Mr Carde, Whangaparaoa.

10. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 17.

- Repository: Royal Collection, Commonwealth Institute, London.
 Provenance: Presented to the Duke of Cornwall and York at Wellington in 1901.
 History: Carved by Jacob at Petone in 1901.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: Figured prominently in *The New Zealand Graphic* (Vol. XXVII, No.II, Saturday 13 July, 1901, p. 70), this box was commissioned from Jacob by the New Zealand Government to serve as the casket for the ceremonial trowel presented to the Duke of Cornwall and York at the laying of the foundation stone for the New Zealand Railway departmental offices in Wellington on 21 June 1901. As the *New Zealand Graphic* writer said: "The casket is the work of Mr Heberley of Petone, and is a very beautiful specimen of Maori carved work". Sir Joseph Ward as Minister of Railways presented the trowel in this casket to the Duke as part of the stone-laying ceremony (Loughnan 1902:210). According to the catalogue of Royal gifts exhibited after the tour (Imperial Institute 1902: Item 287), this casket was copied from the old feather box known as Te Matumotu o Te Okoro (no further information was supplied).

In form, box 10 is very similar to box 9, apart from slight variation in the configuration of the whakarare decoration on the box sides and the necks of the protruding heads. The stylised raised relief face on each side of the box occurs again and again in Jacob's art, always distinguished by the pointed oval sections of rauponga with a deep triangular space in the angle of their joining.

11. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 18.

- Repository: Unknown.
 Provenance: In photo-collage of Jacob's work.
 History: Carved by Jacob.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: Mounted at the top centre of the collage of Jacob's work (Auckland Museum Negative No. C.3943), this box follows the same design as items 9 and 10 except that in box 11 the band of kowhaiwhai runs around the upper portion of the box sides with the whakarare below.

12. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 19.

- Repository: Unknown.
 Provenance: In photo-collage of Jacob's work.
 History: Carved by Jacob.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: This box is known only from the photographic collage of Jacob's work but is so different from wakahuia 9, 10 and 11

that it needs to be noted, however inadequately. Unlike them, this box has the terminal heads set flat against the ends of the vessel, while the lid supports an inclined free-standing head at each end. Two bands of low relief kowhaiwhai cover the sides with a high relief face at mid-side.

13. Model canoe, waka. Figure 20.

Repository: Unknown.

Provenance: In photo-collage of Jacob's work.

History: Carved by Jacob.

Size: Not available.

Description: Figured in the photographic collage of Jacob's work mentioned previously, this is the only known canoe model produced by Jacob. Unfortunately, the photograph is not very clear but it does provide an important record of another type of object in the corpus of Jacob's work. Heberley family records state that this canoe was carved for Lord Ranfurly. There are at least two model Maori canoes in the Ranfurly catalogue (Montgomery 1922), but they are not identified further.

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 20. Model canoe. Catalogue 13. Photo: National Museum.

14. Door lintel, pare. Figure 21.

Repository: Stout family home, Wairarapa.

Provenance: Family of Sir Robert and Lady Stout.

History: Carved by Jacob for Lady Stout.

Size: 162 cm long, 43 cm high.

Description: This pare was probably commissioned from Jacob Heberley at about the time of the royal visit to New Zealand in 1901 by the wife of Sir Robert Stout. Lady Stout knew Jacob well and as a woodcarver herself she was appreciative of his skill (Mr Robert Stout, pers. comm. November 1979). One oral tradition even claims that Jacob taught Lady Stout to carve in Maori style (B. Tattle, pers. comm. 8 December 1990).

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 21. Door lintel. Catalogue 14.

This lintel is the largest known carving by Jacob and his closest approach to an architectural piece. It was carved out of two planks glued together to provide the required depth. Three frontal stylised unsexed figures with upraised hands are spaced across the lintel, separated by two large plain takarangi spirals and bordered by a sinuous manaia figure at each end, all in the approved standard configuration expected for a meeting house pare. The surface decoration consists of rauponga and limited whakarare with neat paua shell rings on wooden pegs for all the eyes. It is probably a fair comment that Jacob's finely-detailed meticulous chisel carving technique has not translated well into a large architectural composition. In the larger format, the irregularities of his cramped miniature style become more prominent and distracting, while the total composition is rather static and lifeless. On the upper portions of the door frames, Jacob has added awkward scrolls of low relief rauponga which are totally non-traditional and only serve to emphasise the purely decorative function of this work.

Nevertheless, despite these criticisms, this is a major production which must represent a significant achievement for a self-trained carver.

15. Model storehouse, pataka.
 Repository: Private collection.
 Provenance: Family of Sir Robert and Lady Stout.
 History: Carved by Jacob for Lady Stout.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: This storehouse model was carved by Jacob for Lady Stout probably at about the same period that his other model pataka were being made. This one may have been the prototype for the series of pataka models described below.
16. Model storehouse, pataka. Figures 22-24.
 Repository: Museum of Mankind, British Museum, London. 1901 L.I.
 Provenance: Presented to Duchess of Cornwall and York at Wellington, 1901.
 History: Carved by Jacob in 1901.
 Size: 92.5 cm long, 79.5 cm wide, 88 cm high.
 Description: Included in the photo-collage of Jacob's work (Auckland Museum Negative No.C.3943), this model pataka is now identified by the official inscription attached to its base which reads: "Presented by the women of the city and suburbs of Wellington, New Zealand to HRH the Duchess of Cornwall and York on the occasion of the visit of HRH, Wellington". The presentation of the pataka was described in the official publication of the royal tour:

"A little later in the forenoon a deputation of the women of Wellington waited upon the Duchess. Its members, Lady Stout, Mrs Wallis (wife of the Bishop of Wellington), Mrs H.D. Bell, President of the Women's Committee, and Mrs T.M. Wilford, were presented by the Countess of Ranfurly in the ball-room of Government house, the Duchess standing by the model of the Maori house. Mrs Bell made the presentation, asking Her Royal Highness's acceptance, as the gift of the women of Wellington, of this model of a food-house used by the Maoris in ancient times. She explained that, as the work was unfinished, the Countess of Ranfurly had kindly allowed the deputation to use her model, which was exactly like theirs, for the presentation, and she promised that when complete the gift of the women would be forwarded to Her Royal Highness.

"I thank you very much," the Duchess said, adding "it was very nice and kind of the ladies to have thought of this"; then she looked with great interest on the model, examined its fine carving closely, asked, "Will it be like this?" and on being told that it would, expressed her pleasure in the most cordial terms. Having once more thanked the ladies, and asked Mrs Bell to express her warmest thanks to the subscribers, Her Royal Highness shook hands with her and the other ladies, who thereupon curtsied and retired."

(Loughnan 1902:183-5)

This account is quoted in full for the light that it throws on the totally different ethos in which the model fulfilled its purpose, so removed from the world in which it had been created. As was usual in this alien context, the official chronicler of the tour did not even think it necessary to mention the name of the artist who had created this object at the centre of their short attention. In fact, Lady Stout had been instrumental in arranging for the commissioning of this model from Jacob Heberley (Robert Stout, pers. comm. November 1979). In the photo-collage of Jacob's works this model is shown standing on a somewhat flimsy carved table, also clearly the work of Jacob judging by its style of carving. This table has now become separated from the model and its present location is unknown.

A very full description of this model including the carver's name was provided in the catalogue of Royal gifts exhibited back at the Imperial Institute, London in May 1902:

"439. A Model, in hardwood, of a Maori gabled house, elaborately carved with grotesque masks and the usual native ornaments in panels bound together by cane, the eyes of the masks encrusted with Venus-ear shell; at one end of the house is a small gallery on to which opens the sliding door; at the top of the gable is a grotesque, formed as a figure of a man with the "Moko" tattooing, standing on a monster head; the whole house rests upon nine supports. The model stands upon a table with a revolving top, carved in low relief with scrolls, zigzags, etc. The model, together with the table, is the work of J.W. Heberley, of Petone.

From the Women of the City and Suburbs of Wellington, New Zealand."

(Imperial Institute 1902:71)

The pataka stands on a slightly larger flat wooden carved base. The koruru and tekoteko at the roof apex is 30 cm high, and as an extra touch, Jacob has given the koruru a crown on its forehead. The roof and the rear of the storehouse are covered with fluted board, while the panels on the sides are all carved with Jacob's favourite low relief kowhaiwhai pattern. All of the front porch is minutely carved with the usual attention to detail, featuring full-frontal figures all over the porch wall and openwork takarangi spirals and manaia on the maihi and paepae. In designing his pataka, Jacob apparently had a clear idea of the overall form of a pataka but his carvings on the maihi and paepae do not reproduce the motifs of pakake (whale or seamonster) and ancestor figures usually appropriate to this construction. Instead, Jacob has filled in both maihi and paepae with sections of the same pattern, purely for decorative effect. Furthermore, the off-centre door is not accurate for a traditional pataka, but would have been appropriate for a dwelling house.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 22-25. Model storehouses. 22-24. Catalogue 16. 25. Catalogue 17. Photo: National Museum.

17. Model storehouse, pataka. Figure 25.

- Repository: Unknown.
 Provenance: Previously owned by the Countess of Ranfurly.
 History: Carved by Jacob at Petone in 1900-1901.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: This is the model pataka referred to by Loughnan (1902:183) as belonging to the Countess of Ranfurly, wife of the Governor of New Zealand, Lord Ranfurly. It was shown to the Duchess of Cornwall and York as a substitute for catalogue number 16 which was still unfinished. The Ranfurly pataka is illustrated in a scrapbook belonging to Augustus Hamilton, now in the National Museum, Wellington, but the caption to this photograph has confused it with the pataka presented to the Duchess. The Ranfurly pataka is very similar in overall form and off-centre door but has significant differences in the carved details, including figures instead of plain piles at the front, and figures for amo instead of the openwork pattern used on the Duchess's pataka. The Ranfurly pataka also lacks the kowhaiwhai sides.

When the Ranfurly family collection was sold at public auction in 1922, this pataka model was described in the catalogue as follows:

“Lot 912 Model of Maori House (Pataka), made entirely of kauri wood and dressed flax, on table; house raised on posts and used for storing food; took ten months to make. The Tiki on the gable represents Turi, Head Chief of the Aotea Canoe which arrived in North Island five centuries ago. The other figures represent his descendants to Te Rauparaha who died at Otaki 1849.

A copy of this model was presented by the New Zealand Government in 1901 to the present King and Queen.”
 (Montgomery 1922:48)

According to this description, the Ranfurly pataka is one of those very rare examples of Jacob's work in which the figures have been given ancestral identifications.

18. Model storehouse, pataka. Figures 26, 27.

- Repository: Royal Collection, Commonwealth Institute, London.
 Provenance: Presented to King Edward VII on his coronation 1902, by Richard John Seddon.
 History: Carved by Jacob at Petone in 1902.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: This is the model pataka commissioned by the New Zealand Government to serve as the casket for the Coronation Address presented by Seddon to King Edward VII on 23 April 1902 (Loughnan 1902: opp. page 333). A view of the front of this

pataka is included at top right in the photo-collage of Jacob's work. Loughnan's oblique view of this pataka clearly shows how Jacob used the same basic form as in pataka 16 and 17, but with major differences in the carving which make pataka 18 the most elaborate and in some respects, the most accurate of the three. In pataka 18 the doorway is now properly in the centre of the porch and features a very accurate miniature rendition of a pare and high relief whakawae. Better looking manaia are attached to the rear of the pataka as well as the front. Well-shaped deeper relief kowhaiwhai patterns decorate the sides. The frontal fascia carvings are still not accurate in terms of traditional pataka motifs but the repeating decorative patterns are beautifully executed in best Jacob Heberley style featuring a unique innovation of partial takarangi spiral arcs between frontal and manaia faces. The amo now display two takarangi spirals each. These diverse designs are blended beautifully into a delicate harmonious composition, one of Jacob's most successful efforts.

All of the above four model storehouses (15, 16, 17, 18) were carved within a very short period between 1900 and 1902. In basic form and decoration they share many features. One striking aspect of the carving design is the way Jacob has chosen a very different pattern for the front of each pataka, which is then repeated on both maihi and paepae. Such a repetition of the same design on both the maihi and paepae of a pataka is not seen on traditional pataka. Instead they usually have the pakake or whale motif on the maihi or blank maihi, and alternating ancestor and manaia figures across the paepae. Jacob was no doubt familiar with Wi Tako's famous pataka Nukutewhatewha which still stood in the Hutt Valley while he was a young man there, later being re-erected in a private garden in Wellington. Like other pataka carved by Ngati Tuwharetoa, Nukutewhatewha had plain maihi without the pakake motif. The absence of pakake on Jacob's models and the design on the paepae of model pataka 16 suggest that Jacob was influenced or inspired by Nukutewhatewha when planning his model pataka. Jacob's paepae patterns, especially on pataka 16 and 18 are also reminiscent of the paepae on another famous Ngati Tuwharetoa pataka, named Hinana at Waihi on Lake Taupo (Phillipps 1952:121).

It is known that the Ranfurly pataka (17) was completed first, sometime before June 1901. Then the pataka for the Duchess of Cornwall and York (16) was completed soon after. Sometime later but before April 1902, the pataka for King Edward (18) was finished. Viewing these models in the sequence of their production (17, 16, 18), a definite improvement in technique and refinement can be detected.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 26, 27. Model storehouse. Catalogue 18. Photos: National Museum; After Loughnan (1902).

This improvement may also be significant in that pataka 17 was made for a Governor-General, 16 for a Duchess and 18 for a King, perhaps reflecting the effects of more generous patronage and an awareness of differing status among his clients. Unfortunately, attempts to trace the terms of these commissions in government archives have proved unsuccessful.

19. Frame for Coronation Address, Figure 28.

- Repository: Royal Collection, Commonwealth Institute, London.
 Provenance: Presented to King Edward VII on his coronation 1902, by Richard John Seddon.
 History: Carved by Jacob in 1902.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: Commissioned by the New Zealand Government to frame the Coronation Address presented by Richard John Seddon to King Edward VII, dated 23 April 1902 (Loughnan 1902: opp. page 332). According to Jacob's obituary in the *Evening Post*, it was Seddon himself who was such a great admirer of Jacob's work that he suggested Jacob should be "entrusted" with this commission.

The photograph of this frame in Loughnan's official account shows a relatively restrained piece of carving, restricted to two registers of lightly incised kowhaiwhai and rolling spirals, separated by a single line of whakarare. At each corner is a manaia figure with minimal body, exactly as used by Jacob on many of his wahaika. At mid-point along each side is a koruru mask of the same sort used on the sides of Jacob's bowls and treasure boxes. Carefully notched paua shell eye inlays are typical of Jacob's attention to detail.

20. Frame for illuminated address, Figure 29.

- Repository: Unknown.
 Provenance: Presented to Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, 1901.
 History: Carved by Jacob in 1901.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: This was the carved frame for the address presented by Richard John Seddon to the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York on their arrival in New Zealand in June 1901. In the official account of the visit, Loughnan (1902:18) described it as "a handsome frame of rare wood, carved, like everything else was, in the correct complicated Maori fashion". Jacob is not actually documented as the carver of this frame but in the context of all the other work that he did for this royal visit and the very close match of this frame to the one that Jacob is known to have carved for the Coronation Address (Catalogue number 19), there can be no doubt that Jacob also produced this frame. The photograph reproduced in Loughnan (1902:19)

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

28

Figs. 28, 29. Carved frames. 28. Catalogue 19. 29. Catalogue 20. Photos: After Loughnan (1902).

29

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 30-32. 30, 31. Garden tool. Catalogue 21. 32. Shark-toothed knife. Catalogue 22.

shows Jacob's characteristic manaia at each corner, a ruru type mask mid-way along each side, and three bands of rauponga, rolling spirals and Jacob's idiosyncratic incised kowhaiwhai.

21. Agricultural tool, timo. Figures 30, 31.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME 12173.
 Provenance: No data.
 History: In photograph with Jacob and his work (Fig. 5).
 Size: 46 cm long handle, 40 cm long point.
 Description: Although Jacob has followed the basic shape of a functional timo, he has added a considerable amount of superfluous decoration to the handle. At the butt is a naturalistic tattooed male head while the handle has a stylised figure and incised kowhaiwhai.

22. Shark-tooth knife, maripi. Figure 32.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME 2005.
 Provenance: Alexander Turnbull Collection.
 History: In photograph with Jacob and his work (Fig. 5).
 Size: 39.6 cm long, 12 cm wide.
 Description: Fitted with real teeth and beautifully shaped, this maripi was nevertheless clearly intended to be a replica only. Artefacts such as the timo and the maripi had long been obsolete within the culture when Jacob made these replicas. In fact, it seems fairly certain that Jacob had copied this maripi from a photograph of an early authentic maripi in the British Museum (Oc 1854, 1229.9) acquired from Sir George Grey in 1854 (Archey 1977:Fig. 180). The form is virtually identical except that instead of the northern style unaunahi surface decoration on the Grey maripi, Jacob has substituted his usual incised kowhaiwhai, whakarare and an innovative plain rolling spiral.

CARVINGS ATTRIBUTED TO JACOB HEBERLEY

On the basis of those carvings known to have been executed by Jacob Heberley, it is possible to attribute many others to his hand. Those listed below have been noted in private collections in New Zealand and in museum collections in New Zealand and overseas. In the absence of any definite documentation, these attributions have been made on style alone, although in some cases there is circumstantial information that supports the attributions. No doubt there are many other carvings not listed here that could be attributed to Jacob but this list includes all such carvings seen during twenty years of museum research in New Zealand, Australia, Hawaii, United States of America, England, Germany and Italy.

Careful responsible attribution of carvings on the basis of detailed comparison can also help to clarify the questionable origin of some items. This is the case with the Cadman Collection in Auckland Museum consisting of two whalebone patu, one whalebone comb, three walking sticks, a tewhatewha, taiaha, paddle and model canoe (AIM 38783-38790). When these items were bequeathed to the museum in 1970 by Mrs E.A.C. Cadman, they were said to have been gifts from the Arawa tribe to Mr Jerome Cadman in about 1900. Sir Alfred Jerome Cadman (1847-1905) was Minister of Native Affairs from 1891 until 1893, and later Minister of Mines and Railways, before moving to the Legislative Council in 1899. In these capacities, Cadman was probably presented with many gifts by both Maori and Pakeha groups. On close examination, virtually all of the items, except the model canoe, in the Cadman Collection can be attributed to Jacob Heberley. Therefore, while he may have received them in Rotorua perhaps either via Herbert Heberley or via some Te Arawa people who had Wellington connections, it is much more likely that these particular items were actually obtained by Cadman in Wellington, either directly from Jacob or by presentation from some body that had commissioned them from Jacob.

23. Whalebone, wahaika. Figure 33.
 Repository: Private collection, Wairarapa.
 Provenance: Purchased at Dunbar Sloane auction, Wellington.
 History: Unknown.

- Size: 36 cm long, 12.6 cm wide.
 Description: The manaia figure on this club corresponds very closely to the manaia used by Jacob on the carved frames (Catalogue numbers 19, 20).
24. Whalebone club, wahaika. Figure 34.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38785.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 42 cm long, 12.5 cm wide.
 Description: Like all of Jacob's wahaika, this club features the usual figure clasping his inward turned feet and also has an area of kowhaiwhai on the lower blade. But there are extra unusual features of a wheku face below the figure and the name "Roriki" inscribed in old-fashioned printing. The figure on the butt is different from all of those above, having the form of a manaia face with an arm holding a leg with downturned foot. This butt figure is surprisingly similar to the butt figure used by Patoromu Tamatea of Rotorua on his clubs.
25. Wooden club, wahaika. Figure 35.
 Repository: Auckland Museum 6894.
 Provenance: E. Brown Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 39.5 cm long, 13.5 cm wide.
 Description: Once owned by a prominent Wellington Maori family, this club follows the previous pattern already established but has the variation of kowhaiwhai carved on the lower part of the blade and a takarangi spiral on the upper blade. While the figure adheres to the type already seen above, it has the extra detail of a cross within circle on the wrist, as seen on a walking stick and dart thrower by Jacob. This club is very light and is not as well finished as Jacob's other work.
26. Celluloid? club, wahaika. Figure 36.
 Repository: Field Museum, Chicago. 88531.
 Provenance: Previously T.E. Donne collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: Of the same form as the previous two clubs, but with more elaborate surface decoration. All the blade is covered with rauponga spirals and even the handle bears low-relief kowhaiwhai. Another unusual touch is the row of small teeth around the mouth of the figure, matching those carved by Jacob in the mouths of many of the terminal heads on his treasure boxes. Tests conducted at the Field Museum have suggested that this example consists of celluloid (J. Terrell, pers. comm. December 1990) but it is not known whether Jacob actually carved celluloid or whether it is a cast made in a celluloid substance.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 33-38. Hand clubs. 33. Catalogue 23. 34. Catalogue 24. 35. Catalogue 25. 36. Catalogue 26. Photo: Field Museum, Chicago. 37. Catalogue 27. 38. Catalogue 28.

27. Whalebone club, patu paraoa. Figure 37.
 Repository: Auckland Museum 38783.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 37 cm long, 9 cm wide.
 Description: Belonging to the Cadman Collection, this club has the standard form of a patu paraoa but with the addition of a manaia head at the butt, similar to those on several of the wahaika above. This patu is well-balanced and finely shaped although the carving of the manaia is unusually rough for Jacob.
28. Wooden club, patu mako. Figure 38.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME 4169.
 Provenance: Sir Walter Buller collection, number 25.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 41 cm long, 5.5 cm wide.
 Description: Decorated with rauponga, whakarare and kowhaiwhai patterns, this circular-sectioned club was described by Buller as a patu mako, that is, a shark club. However, despite this name, it was clearly never intended to actually fulfil this purpose, but instead has become an elegant pure form.
29. Wooden long club, tewhatewha. Figure 39.
 Repository: Canterbury Museum. E 141. 703.
 Provenance: Probably presented by Sir Joseph Ward, Christchurch.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 121.8 cm long.
 Description: Carved on both sides of blade with Jacob's standard low-relief koruru face, this tewhatewha is rougher in finish than most of his other work.
30. Wooden long club, tewhatewha. Figure 40.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38787.1.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 128.5 cm long.
 Description: This is a plain, well-shaped tewhatewha with Jacob's characteristic janus face carved on the shaft.
31. Wooden long club, tewhatewha. Figure 41.
 Repository: Auckland Museum 38787.2.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 99.5 cm long.
 Description: This tewhatewha with its lightweight wood and janus face is almost identical to the above, except for its shorter length.
32. Wooden long club, tewhatewha. Figure 42.
 Repository: Auckland Museum 24168.2

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 39-45. Long clubs. 39. Catalogue 29. Photo: C. Jacomb. 40. Catalogue 30. 41. Catalogue 31. 42. Catalogue 32. 43. Catalogue 33. 44. Catalogue 35. 45. Catalogue 36.

- Provenance: Mrs Alice Weston
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 135 m long.
 Description: With no history, this tewhatewha can be attributed to Jacob by virtue of the janus face on the shaft and even more definitely by the figure carved into the shaft at the junction of the blade. This figure is a standard type from Jacob's repertoire, but its location here on the shaft is an unsuccessful innovation. The pierced carving has so weakened the shaft that it is totally non-functional and in fact is now broken at this juncture.
33. Whalebone long club, tewhatewha. Figure 43.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 12047.
 Provenance: Pain Collection, Martinborough, Wairarapa.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 117 cm.
 Description: A plain well-shaped tewhatewha with janus head on shaft.
34. Whalebone long club, tewhatewha.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 12048.
 Provenance: Pain Collection, Martinborough, Wairarapa.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 102 cm long.
 Description: Like the above, this plain tewhatewha is well-shaped with a restrained janus head set on the shaft. It has also been fitted with a bunch of feathers as appropriate for this weapon.
35. Wooden long club, taiaha. Figure 44.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38788.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History; Unknown.
 Size: 181 cm long.
 Description: The head is carved according to the traditional composition for a taiaha except for the substitution of a flat pointed oval of rauponga instead of the correct nose.
36. Whalebone long club, taiaha. Figure 45.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 4226A.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 141.8 cm long.
 Description: In basic form, the head of this bone taiaha is very similar to Jacob's wooden taiaha above, but with some variation in the treatment of the nose and upper lip. Appropriate feather decorations have been attached, presumably by Jacob.
37. Dart thrower, kotaha. Figure 46.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2944.
 Provenance: Unknown.

History: Copied from original in British Museum (NZ 75).
 Size: 156 cm long.
 Description: Genuine kotaha are very rare in Maori collections in New Zealand museums. Consequently, the examples in the British Museum were of great interest to New Zealand ethnologists. Anaha Te Rahui of Rotorua was commissioned to reproduce replicas (now in Auckland Museum) of these from photographs and apparently Jacob was also. However, Jacob's replica of British Museum kotaha number NZ 75, collected on one of Captain Cook's voyages is very different to Anaha's replica of this same kotaha. Both Jacob and Anaha worked from photographs although Anaha may also have had the advantage of a plaster cast, but their totally dissimilar results are very instructive for an understanding of the different skills and training of these two men. Anaha with his traditional training, artistic discipline and experience, produced a truly three-dimensional replica that is very faithful to the original. Jacob on the other hand, without this traditional training and discipline, has interpreted the two-dimensional photograph with an essentially two-dimensional carving. Where Jacob has not understood the three-dimensional aspect or the complex figural composition, he has improvised, producing a falsely domed head, a strange looped lip, a hand that is disjointed from its arm, and a leg that is scarcely recognisable, being reduced to a series of spirals and rauponga ending in the displaced hand.

38. Wooden paddle, hoe. Figure 47.

Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2407.
 Provenance: Sir Walter Buller Collection.
 History: Copied from original in Dresden Museum.
 Size: 197.3 cm long, 16.5 cm wide.
 Description: Carved for Sir Walter Buller as a copy of a remarkable paddle which the Dresden Museum had recently purchased from an English dealer for seventy-five pounds. The original paddle had been obtained in the Bay of Islands in 1836 from the Ngapuhi chief Titore but the style is not noticeably northern. Augustus Hamilton had published a drawing and description of this paddle in 1896 (Hamilton 1896:40, Fig. 1) based on an illustration issued by the Dresden Museum and the paddle had obviously attracted the attention of New Zealand collectors and museum curators. Within a very short time, several Wellington area collectors such as Walter Buller, Alexander Turnbull and Alfred Cadman all had modern copies or variations based on this paddle in their collections. All of these copies can be attributed to Jacob Heberley who must have incorporated this style of paddle into his repertoire very quickly. At this time, it is not known whether Jacob started making these paddles on his own initiative or whether he was

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 46-53. 46. Dart thrower. Catalogue 37. 47-53. Paddles. 47. Catalogue 38. 48. Catalogue 39. 49, 50. Catalogue 40. 51, 52. Catalogue 41. 53. Catalogue 42.

first commissioned to reproduce them for the collectors. It is known that Jacob was selling unspecified carvings and even an ancestral hei-tiki to Sir Walter Buller at about this time (note by Sarah Heperi, Auckland Museum Ethnology files).

Judging by Hamilton's drawing of the original paddle, this Wellington paddle (ME. 2407) is a fairly faithful copy. At the top of the handle is a plain raised knob and where the handle diverges into two shafts there is a janus head carved on each shaft. At the loom of the blade, a face with paua shell eyes is carved above the deep notch so characteristic of the Dresden paddle. On the upper surface of the blade, Jacob has reproduced the whakarare pattern and the low-relief embracing figures.

39. Wooden paddle, hoe. Figure 48.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 2605.
 Provenance: Alexander Turnbull Collection.
 History: Copied from original in Dresden Museum.
 Size: 198.5 cm long, 15.3 cm wide.
 Description: Another copy of the Dresden paddle, this one was owned by Alexander Turnbull and Jacob has again faithfully reproduced all the features of the Dresden paddle.
40. Wooden paddle, hoe, Figures 49, 50.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38789.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Copied from original in Dresden Museum.
 Size: 203 cm long, 17.4 cm wide.
 Description: Part of the Cadman bequest, this is a third close copy of the Dresden paddle.
41. Wooden paddle, hoe. Figures 51, 52.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 6911.
 Provenance: E. Brown Collection.
 History: Variation on the Dresden paddle.
 Size: 201.5 cm long, 15.5 cm wide.
 Description: Part of a large collection originating from several prominent Wellington Maori families, this paddle is a variation on the Dresden paddle. Like all of Jacob's other paddles, this is an ornate presentation piece never meant to be used as a functional paddle. At the top of the handle is a naturalistic male face with tattoo and shell eye insets (now missing). Halfway along the handle shaft is a janus face in low relief rauponga, of the same type that Jacob used on his walking sticks and tewhatewha. The curved upper surface of the blade bears a large koruru face, low relief kowhaiwhai and a smaller full length figure at the loom, all in rauponga. A band of whakarare runs along the lip of a raised lower portion of the blade. At the loom, Jacob has retained the characteristic deep notch of the Dresden paddle.

42. Wooden paddle, hoe. Figure 53.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2408.
 Provenance: Sir Walter Buller Collection.
 History: Variation on the Dresden paddle.
 Size: 185.2 cm long, 14.5 cm wide.
 Description: Once owned by Sir Walter Buller this is another variation on the Dresden paddle model, almost identical with the Auckland Museum paddle 6911. It is distinguished by its slightly smaller size, being 185.2 cm long and by the less complex pattern of kowhaiwhai on the blade.
43. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 54.
 Repository: Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth. A. 76.805.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 52 cm long, 14.8 cm wide, 15 cm high.
 Description: With no recorded information, this box can definitely be attributed to Jacob, although it is slightly more rounded than his usual shape and has a variant motif of rectangular rauponga-filled panels on the sides.
44. Treasure box, wakahuia.
 Repository: Private collection, Wairarapa.
 Provenance: Riddiford family collection.
 History: Presented to Sir Julius Vogel.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: According to the information in a Dunbar Sloane auction catalogue for 24 April 1980, this box was presented to Sir Julius Vogel while he was Premier of New Zealand and subsequently remained in the Riddiford family for many years. It sold at Dunbar Sloane's 1980 auction for \$375. This is a very standard Jacob Heberley design box with no unusual features.
45. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 55.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2645.
 Provenance: Alexander Turnbull collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 50 cm long, 14.5 cm high.
 Description: Standard Jacob Heberley design.
46. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 56.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2646.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: Lid 56 cm long, box 38 cm long, 9.7 cm high.
 Description: Unlike all other known wakahuia by Jacob, the lid of this one has a flat protruding wheku mask at each end. The box is decorated in whakarare with a band of kowhaiwhai around the base.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 54-57. Treasure boxes. 54. Catalogue 43. 55. Catalogue 45. 56. Catalogue 46. 57. Catalogue 47.

47. Treasure box, wakahuia. Figure 57.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.12056.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 51 cm long, 16 cm high.
 Description: With inset lid, squared ends and protruding heads on thick necks, this box is very similar to the Seddon box (Catalogue number 9), except for the extra ruru type faces on sides and lids.
48. Afterbirth container, ipu ewe. Figure 58.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2644.
 Provenance: Alexander Turnbull Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 50 cm long, 14 cm high.
 Description: Jacob has embellished all of the external surface of the container with whakarare and a band of kowhaiwhai around the upper portion. At each side is a typical Jacob-style koruru mask and the end has a deeply-carved wheku mask. This generous surface decoration and flat bottom mark this item as a modified replica.
49. Feeding funnel, korere. Figure 59.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 857.
 Provenance: Gilbert Mair Collection, 1901.
 History: Found in a hollow totara tree in the Wairarapa.
 Size: 21 cm long, 10 cm wide.
 Description: Reported as found in a hollow tree in the Wairarapa, this feeding funnel came into the museum as part of the Gilbert Mair collection in 1901. Virtually all known old authentic feeding funnels have come from the North Auckland district but this example is clearly not in northern carving style and is obviously a replica. On stylistic grounds, it can be attributed to Jacob Heberley as evidenced by his favourite motifs of a band of low relief kowhaiwhai, then a band of whakarare above the body of the funnel which is covered by oblique whakarare. If this attribution to Jacob is correct, this funnel would probably represent another production from Jacob's period of residence at Greytown.
50. Model free-standing figure, tekoteko. Figure 60.
 Repository: American Museum of Natural History, New York. 80.1-1642.
 Provenance: Purchased in 1951 from M.L.J. Lemaire, an artefact dealer in Amsterdam.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 38 cm high.
 Description: This tekoteko was probably made for a model house or simply as a separate model. The stylised figure set above a stylised face follows the pattern Jacob used on his walking sticks and is also similar to the tekoteko he attached to his model storehouses.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 58-61. 58. Afterbirth container. Catalogue 48. 59. Feeding funnel. Catalogue 49.
60. Free-standing figure. Catalogue 50. 61. Weaving peg. Catalogue 51.

51. Weaving peg, turuturu. Figure 61.
 Repository: Hastings Cultural Centre. 595.
 Provenance: George Ebbett Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 58 cm long.
 Description: To produce this imitation of an obsolete traditional artefact, the carver, almost certainly Jacob Heberley, has simply placed his standard stylised head on a plain shaft.
52. Whalebone walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 62.
 Repository: Tribal heirloom, Ruatoki.
 Provenance: Shown in early photograph, held by Tupaea Rapaera, Tuhoe tribe, Ruatoki (National Museum negative B.1491).
 History: Unknown.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: Following Jacob's basic walking stick pattern, this tokotoko is distinguished more by his choice of whalebone as a carving material. In traditional Maori terms, whalebone was a highly-valued material mainly because of its scarcity. With his family connections into the Queen Charlotte Sound whaling industry, Jacob was able to make good use of this resource.
53. Whalebone walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 63.
 Repository: Unknown.
 Provenance: Photograph supplied by W.O. Oldman, London.
 History: "Owned by Paraone Pahoia, chief of Wairarapa".
 Size: Unknown (reported size must be an error).
 Description: This tokotoko is now known only from an archival photograph held by the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne (photograph number 635). An archival note to this photograph written on 15 August 1906 records that this walking stick was "originally the property of Paraone Pahoia, chief of Wairarapa, North Island, New Zealand, length 86 1/2 inches, 5 inches across". The photograph was supplied by W.O. Oldman, the London dealer, in August 1906, taken from the original stick in his possession. Paraone, also known as Paraire Pahoia was a chief who lived in the Greytown district in the later years of the nineteenth century.
- Elegantly carved in whalebone instead of the usual wood, this tokotoko follows Jacob's standard walking stick design with looped handle, stylised upper figure with head below, incised kowhaiwhai along the shaft and a janus head below. Nevertheless, Jacob has again ingeniously managed to make each stick slightly different in interesting details.
54. Whalebone walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 64.
 Repository: Unknown.
 Provenance: Sold by Sotheby's New York, on Tuesday 18 November 1986 for \$1,650 (US).

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

62

63

64

Figs. 62-64. Whalebone walking sticks. 62. Catalogue 52. Photo: National Museum. 63. Catalogue 53. Photo: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne. 64. Catalogue 54. Photo: Courtesy of Sotheby's, New York.

History: Unknown.
Size: 84.4 cm long.
Description: Known only by the photograph in the catalogue for this auction (Lot 39), this stick can be safely attributed to Jacob, even though the upper figure has had the head broken away. Unlike Jacob's other tokotoko, this one has two stylised figures of indeterminate sex with some unusual details of legs and head on the lower figure.

55. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figures 65, 66.
Repository: Hastings Cultural Centre. 716.
Provenance: George Ebbett Collection.
History: Purchased on Norfolk Island.
Size: 94.5 cm long.

- Description: George Ebbett, a local Hawkes Bay collector, obtained this tokotoko on Norfolk Island. Its earlier history is unknown but it can clearly be attributed to Jacob Heberley. This stick is a very fine example of Jacob's style, with his naturalistic male figure at the top and an unusually expressive stylised figure below which is surprisingly reminiscent of early Taranaki entwining patterns. On the powerful elongated hand of this lower figure, Jacob has introduced an unusual motif of a cross-within-circle and this recurs on the hand of the male figure above. Jacob introduced the same motif on his kotaha (Catalogue number 37). This cross-within-circle motif is very rare in Maori woodcarving; one other prominent example appears in Taraia meeting house at Pakipaki, Hawkes Bay, possibly seen by Jacob.
56. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 67.
 Repository: Private collection, Auckland.
 Provenance: Still held by descendant of Jacob.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 94 cm long.
 Description: This walking stick, tokotoko is almost identical to the one above (Catalogue number 55) both in size and design. Such reproduction of exactly the same tokotoko composition is most unusual among all the known work of Jacob who usually managed to introduce some variation in the minor details at least.
57. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 68.
 Repository: Hastings Cultural Centre. 718.
 Provenance: George Ebbett Collection.
 History: Purchased by Ebbett in 1910.
 Size: 91.5 cm long.
 Description: Collection records and an old display label claim that this walking stick was carved by the same carver who had worked on Rauru meeting house for C.E. Nelson at Rotorua in 1900. This is obviously a confusion, as the stick can be confidently attributed to Jacob Heberley and is clearly not the work of Anaha Te Rahui, Tene Waitere or Neke Kapua, all of Ngati Tarawhai, who were employed by Nelson on Rauru. However, this information is interesting if it indicates that the stick was collected at Rotorua. The stick was purchased for the collection in 1910. In this case, Jacob has given the upper figure a stylised face instead of the usual naturalistic one.
58. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 69.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38786.1.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 94.5 cm long.

- Description: This tokotoko displays a stylised figure with naturalistic male tattooed face, standing on a manaia head. Below this a section of rauponga and whakarare continues down to a janus face carved in whakarare.
59. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 70.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38786.2.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 89 cm long.
 Description: One of Jacob's more complex tokotoko compositions, this stick is shorter than most. The top figure is the usual tattooed male, standing above a stylised female. Below her is a manaia head with Jacob's bulbous tongue and numerous teeth. Below this again are two bands of elaborate surface decoration followed by low relief kowhaiwhai ending in a janus face. The surface decoration on this stick is extremely intricate and finely finished.
60. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 71.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 38786.3.
 Provenance: Cadman Collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 89.6 cm long.
 Description: This is the third tokotoko of the Cadman collection and follows very closely on the composition of the stick above, except that here the female figure is naturalistic, being very similar to the female on the tokotoko in the Australian Museum (Catalogue number 61).
61. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figures 72, 73.
 Repository: Australian Museum, Sydney. E 54527.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: Not available.
 Description: This walking stick has the usual loop handle favoured by Jacob, and his standard naturalistic male figure above a naturalistic female, both with the appropriate traditional tattoo indicated. The male has the fine additional detail of two feathers carved on to his forehead and the female is exceptionally naturalistic, perhaps even with playful erotic overtones.
62. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 74.
 Repository: Private collection, Wairarapa.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 94 cm long.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 65-73. Walking sticks. 65, 66. Catalogue 55. 67. Catalogue 56. 68. Catalogue 57. 69.
Catalogue 58. 70. Catalogue 59. 71. Catalogue 60. 72, 73. Catalogue 61.

- Description: This walking stick follows Jacob's standard pattern with a naturalistic male face on a stylised body surmounting a larger stylised face with sophisticated swirling rauponga surface patterns. This stick is a fine example of Jacob's sureness of line and deftness of chisel cuts.
63. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 75.
 Repository: Private collection, Wairarapa.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 94 cm long.
 Description: Also 94 cm long, this stick has the same composition as the other in this collection (Catalogue number 62), except for a stylised face on the upper figure. The lower manaia face has Jacob's bulbous tongue motif, used so often on his treasure boxes.
64. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 76.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.8092.
 Provenance: Hunter family bequest, 1956.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 90.5 cm long.
 Description: A stylised male figure stands above a manaia face and the rest of the shaft is decorated with incised kowhaiwhai and rauponga.
65. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 77.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.13945.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 97 cm long.
 Description: In this standard Jacob tokotoko composition, a male figure with tattooed naturalistic face stands above a stylised manaia head. The circular shell eyes have been given Jacob's careful notched edges.
66. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 78.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 13946.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 90 cm long.
 Description: This stick has Jacob's standard composition of a stylised male figure above a stylised face.
67. Wooden walking stick, tokotoko. Figure 79.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. Deposit D.129
 Provenance: Private collection, Martinborough.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 94.6 cm long.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 74-79. Walking sticks. 74. Catalogue 62. 75. Catalogue 63. 76. Catalogue 64. 77.
Catalogue 65. 78. Catalogue 66. 79. Catalogue 67.

Description: This is one of the finest tokotoko carved by Jacob, although the composition is his usual standard male figure above a stylised manaia. The shaft is decorated with incised kowhaiwhai and a janus head at the bottom.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 80-83. 80, 81. Bone combs. 80. Catalogue 68. 81. Catalogue 69. 82, 83. Bone pendants. 82. Catalogue 70. 83. Catalogue 71.

68. Bone comb, heru. Figure 80.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.12074.
 Provenance: Pain collection, Martinborough.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 22 cm long, 7.5 cm wide.
 Description: This flat piece of bone has been carved on both sides with two full-length figures of the same composition as Jacob's stylised tokotoko figures. The two wheku masks separating these figures are also standard Jacob types, almost identical to the mask reproduced on Jacob's whalebone wahaika in the Cadman collection (Catalogue number 24). The final product is a non-functional creation, inspired by a traditional form but diverging widely from the original.
69. Bone comb, heru. Figure 81.
 Repository: Auckland Museum 38784.
 Provenance: Cadman collection.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 21.8 cm long.
 Description: This comb is very similar to the Pain comb (Catalogue number 68), varying only in the kneeling stance of the two flanking figures separated by one wheku mask.
70. Bone pendant. Figure 82.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.12073.
 Provenance: Pain collection, Martinborough.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 9.1 cm long, 6 cm wide.
 Description: With no direct traditional antecedents, this pendant is an innovative composition carved on both sides of the bone. The upper bodies of the flanking figures are based on Jacob's male tokotoko figures with naturalistic tattooed face and the wheku mask between is the same as used on his bone combs.
71. Bone pendant. Figure 83.
 Repository: Private collection, Wellington.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 6 cm long, 4.3 cm wide.
 Description: This beautifully finished pendant is notably smaller than the above and displays the same jewel-like quality as Jacob's pendant in the form of a wahaika (Catalogue number 8). Set with paua shell eyes, the two outward facing heads reproduce in miniature the same faces that he carved on the handles of full-size clubs, while the central face is a simplification of Jacob's standard wheku mask.
72. Bone cloak pin, aurei. Figure 84.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.2767.2

Provenance: Alexander Turnbull collection.
History: Unknown.
Size: 16 cm long.
Description: This finely-carved cloak pin can be confidently attributed to Jacob on the basis of the janus mask which is identical to the mask used by Jacob on his walking sticks and tewhatewha. His neat polished paua shell eye inserts have a jewel-like quality, reflecting Jacob's skill at small intricate detailing.

73. Bone cloak pin, aurei. Figure 85.
Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.11985.
Provenance: Unknown.
History: Unknown.
Size: 16.6 cm long.
Description: This pin is attributed to Jacob for the same reasons as the pin above (Catalogue number 72).

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

74. Bone cloak pin, aurei. Figure 86.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME. 11984.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 16.8 cm long.
 Description: Although the wheku face on this pin has no direct correlates among Jacob's other carvings, the details of technique and style mark it as Jacob's work.
75. Bone cloak pin, aurei. Figure 87.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.14987.
 Provenance: Unknown.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 16.6 cm long.
 Description: As on the other pins, the hand of Jacob is evident in the style and technique of the face carved on the pin.
76. Tinder box. Figures 88, 89.
 Repository: National Museum, Wellington. ME.15530.
 Provenance: Private collection, Wellington.
 History: Unknown.
 Size: 16 cm long, 8 cm high.
 Description: Displaying Jacob's characteristic type of male tattooed face and whakarare surface decoration, this container is a replica of an established traditional form. Usually described as a tinder box, such containers have also been interpreted as holders for trinkets, tattooing chisels or pigment. The National Museum purchased this box at a Dunbar Sloane auction in 1991 for \$7,000.
77. Tinder Box. Figure 90.
 Repository: Auckland Museum. 37517.
 Provenance: Presented by A.T. Williams, 1968.
 History: Said to have been owned by Archdeacon Henry Williams (Archev 1977:80).
 Size: 16 cm long, 9 cm high.
 Description: Apart from a few minor differences of surface decoration and the use of Jacob's usual neat paua shell eye inserts, this tinder box is virtually identical in size and form to the other box (Catalogue number 76). Both these boxes are fine examples of Jacob's skill and attention to detail.

If this box was actually owned by Henry Williams who died in 1867, this would imply a very early date for a work by Jacob Heberley. In view of all the other evidence of Jacob's carving career, a supposed pre-1867 date must be highly suspect. It must be assumed that the box was added to Henry Williams' family collection sometime after his death.

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 88-90. Tinder boxes. 88, 89. Catalogue 76. Photos: R. Watt. 90. Catalogue 77.

OTHER CONTEMPORARY CARVERS

Many other Maori carvers around the country were producing bowls, treasure boxes, replica weapons, models and walking sticks for the commercial market, during the same years as Jacob. Unfortunately many of these carvings are now very poorly documented and in most cases we do not even know the names of their creators. However, there were some carvers contemporary with Jacob whose work is known and represented in museum collections (Fig. 91). Jacob was the only producer of these commercial items in the Wellington area, but it is important to look at the work of these others, firstly because their work is often confused with Jacob's and secondly because their stylistic development may be related to Jacob's own evolution of a distinctive personal style, or at least show a parallel evolution. It has been claimed (Neville Gilmore, pers. comm. February 1991) that Jacob's brothers were also carvers, but this has not been substantiated (E. Chambers and C. Heberley, pers. comm. 14 May 1991).

Piwiki Horohau who worked at Porirua and Otaki has already been mentioned but an examination of a tobacco container (Fig. 92) carved by him clearly shows that he and Jacob were following quite different stylistic paths.

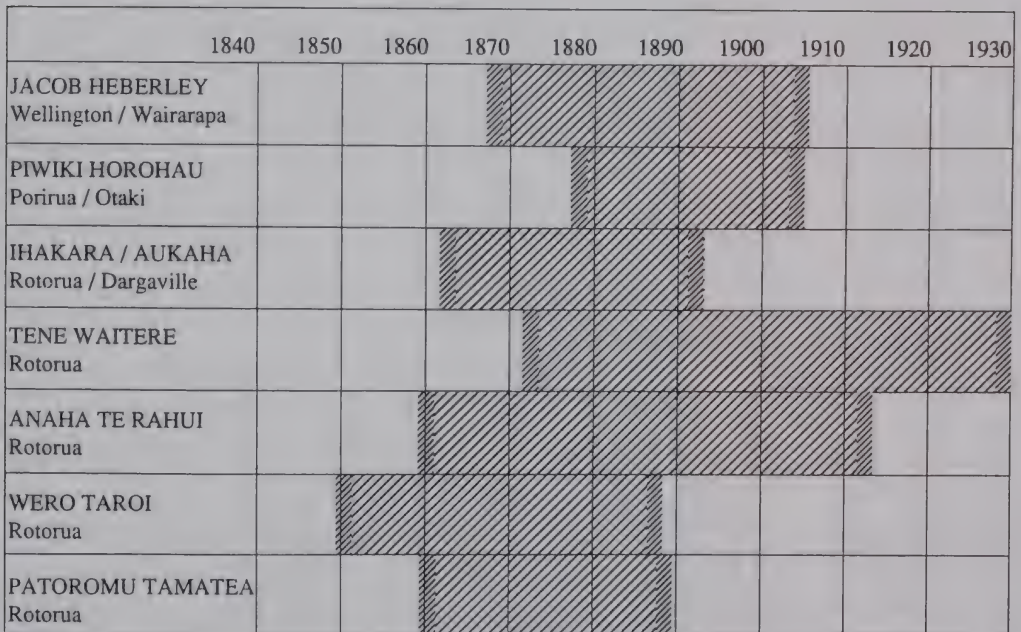


Fig. 91. Periods of carving activity of contemporary carvers.

Much of the production of these items for the commercial market was concentrated among Te Arawa tribal carvers in the Rotorua area where the tourist demand was greatest. Ngati Whakaue carvers at Ohinemutu were involved in this production but documentation on their output is scarce. Ngati Pikiāo and Ngati Tarawhai carvers working around the southern shores of Lake Rotoiti and at Rotorua township or Ohinemutu seem to have dominated the market.



Fig. 92. Tobacco container carved by Piwiki Horohau at Wellington. Auckland Museum.

When Meade visited Maketu and was entertained by Te Arawa there in December 1864, he noticed a “carved wooden vase” and commented that “these urns were very carefully carved, and handed down from father to son; but since the introduction of European utensils, the art of carving the wooden vases has been lost” (Meade 1870:19). Obviously, Meade misjudged the vitality of this art. As soon as tourism to Rotorua began in the early 1870s with the opening up of roads from Tauranga and Maketu (Stafford 1967:501-12), Europeans began buying Maori carvings to take home as souvenirs. Ngati Tarawhai and Ngati Pikiāo were in the forefront of this development of ‘tourist art’. By the 1880s and later, it is known that Patoromu, Ihakara, Anaha Te Rahui, and probably Wero Taroi were carving ornate bowls for Gilbert Mair at Taheke and Ruato (Neich 1977:228).

By the turn of the century, the Ngati Tarawhai carving group of Anaha Te Rahui, Neke Kapua and Tene Waitere were very active in the tourist market, carving rifle butts, tobacco pipes, walking sticks, replica weapons, paddles, bowls and treasure boxes. Their individual styles are well-known and can now be clearly distinguished from the work of Jacob Heberley. Ornate figure-supported bowls were a specialty of Anaha and one such famous kumete colloquially known as “the two wrestlers” (Auckland Museum 106) will serve as an example of Anaha’s style (Fig. 93). The two figures carved on the lid are said to represent two chiefs fighting over the ownership of the Tikitere lands near Rotorua. Anaha worked firmly within the Ngati Tarawhai carving tradition and indeed was a major shaper of that style during his long carving career (Neich 1990a). Tene Waitere carved a very wide range of objects both for the tourist trade and for Maori clients (Neich 1990). Included within that range, Tene produced round or oval figure-supported kumete (Simmons 1982: Plate 164) and elongate wakahuia shaped treasure boxes standing on smaller terminal figures (Simmons 1982: Plate 37, i). Tene’s treasure boxes have a very superficial similarity to Jacob’s but apart from obvious differences in carving style, the structural concept of their boxes is dissimilar. Jacob’s treasure boxes sit on a flat base with protruding heads at each end, while Tene’s boxes are supported free of the ground by their full-length terminal figures. Wero Taroi, an older Ngati Tarawhai carver who taught these younger men (Neich 1990b), is also said to have carved ornate bowls for the commercial market. A large bowl with terminal figures supported on a dog (Gilbert Mair collection, Auckland Museum, now Otago Museum D.40.318) has sometimes been regarded as the work of Wero but this is only an attribution (Fig. 94).

Another prominent carver linked with the Ngati Tarawhai carvers working at Ruato was Aukaha Wharepouri, also known as Ihakara, who belonged to Ngati Pikiāo and probably had Ngati Tarawhai connections as well. His daughter, Tuhi Ihakara, was born in 1866 which may indicate that Aukaha was active as a carver by that time. Gilbert Mair described him as “old Ihakara” in 1885. His descendants understand that Aukaha was self-taught but he was accepted as an important tribal carver (Mrs Marama Graham, pers. comm. 22 August 1979). His name is associated with that of Patoromu Tamatea and other Ngati Tarawhai carvers who were working around Lake Rotoiti and Rotorua during the 1880s. Aukaha lived for some time in Dargaville, probably in about the 1870s, where his daughter Tuhi married Charles Black. Aukaha continued carving while he lived in Dargaville and much of his work was in the collection of John Black of Te Kopuru. Unfortunately, all of John Black’s collection was destroyed by fire. Gilbert Mair knew Aukaha and Tuhi around Lakes

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 93-96. Figure-supported bowls. 93. Carved by Anaha Te Rahui. 94. Attributed to Wero. Photo: Otago Museum. 95. Carved by Aukaha Wharepouri. 96. Carved by Patoromu Tamatea.

Rotoiti and Okataina in the 1880s. In April 1885, Gilbert Mair travelled the length of Okataina from south to north and met Aukaha and Tuhi at Tauranganui where the track from Ruato on Lake Rotoiti emerged from the Waione bush. The next day Aukaha returned to Ruato where he was living, while Tuhi continued on to Te Wairoa, returning back to Ruato four days later (Mair, Ms 92, Diary 35, Alexander Turnbull Library). Aukaha was apparently one of that loose group of carvers centred on Ruato in the later part of the nineteenth century, producing small items for sale to passing tourists as well as other objects for tribal purposes.

Fortunately, one documented carving by Aukaha has survived. This is a fine large ornate kumete (Fig. 95) now held by his great grand-daughter in Dargaville. Once in John Black's collection at Te Kopuru, this kumete somehow escaped destruction in the fire. Measuring 48 cm long, 15.2 cm wide and 30 cm high with the lid on, this kumete has a squatting support figure 23 cm high at each end. The lid has two koruru type faces and a different form of koruru face appears on each side of the bowl. Most of the surface decoration is whakarare and pointed oval sections of rauponga. At first sight, Aukaha's carving style appears very similar to Jacob Heberley's, especially in the use of pointed oval rauponga sections around mouth and eyes. Aukaha also displays a sure control of his medium that is reminiscent of Jacob's skill. However, on closer examination, important differences in style emerge between Jacob and Aukaha. The composition of the supporting figures is very different, with Aukaha favouring more stylised form. Aukaha's surface decoration is much larger in proportion to the total work as compared to the very fine miniaturised detail preferred by Jacob. Although Jacob and Aukaha were working over the same period, there is no evidence either in their life histories or in the form of their art that they ever met or shared ideas.

One of the most prolific carvers working around Rotorua at this time was Patoromu Tamatea whose exact tribal affiliations within Te Arawa are uncertain, although he is usually considered to be of Ngati Pikiao. He apparently lived at Ohinemutu where Morton met him in about 1872 while the carvings for Tamatekapua meeting house were being completed. Morton (1961:49) noted, "We met a very remarkable looking Maori, a hunchback, who was said to be the best craftsman at this kind of work in New Zealand". In a very fanciful account of the carving of a Maori-style Madonna and Child, Cowan (1934) also describes Patoromu as a hunchback, living at Ohinemutu in the 1870s, after service in the Armed Constabulary against Te Kooti. Cowan tells of Patoromu as a dedicated artist, carrying his work with him through the bush campaigns, then settling at Ohinemutu to produce models, replicas and house carvings. According to Cowan, Patoromu was also a tattooist, providing women with their traditional chin patterns. When a new Roman Catholic church was constructed at Ohinemutu in the later 1870s, Patoromu carved a Madonna and Child for the altar which the priest reluctantly rejected. Mortified, Patoromu defected from Catholicism although he kept the carving for the rest of his life. On his deathbed he gave his carving to his old commander and friend, almost certainly Gilbert Mair. Presumably, this is the Madonna and Child carving now in the Gilbert Mair Collection in Auckland Museum (AIM 22), although Mair himself recorded that the carving was made in 1845 and makes no mention of Patoromu as the carver (Roach 1972). Gilbert Mair did know Patoromu as a carver, even having commissioned a carved bowl from him at Taheke, sometime in the 1880s (Mair, MS 92, Diary 25, 36, Alexander Turnbull Library).

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Figs. 97-100. Items carved by Patoromu Tamatea. 97. Whalebone kotiate. 98. Whalebone patuki. 99. Wooden walking stick. 100. Figure-supported box. Auckland Museum.

Auckland Museum holds many small items documented as carved by Patoromu Tamatea, including a mouth piece for a gourd carved in about 1868 (AIM 6145), four tobacco jars specially carved for Captain Northcroft (AIM 6146-6149), and a very large ornate figure-supported bowl (AIM 117) said to have been intended as a gift for Sir George Grey but eventually given to Gilbert Mair in the 1870s (Fig. 96). Other items documented or clearly attributable to Patoromu are pipes, bone combs, a bone patuki, wooden clubs, various kumete and rectangular figure-supported boxes, walking sticks and paddles (Figs. 97-100). In addition to these smaller items, Auckland Museum holds a tekoteko (AIM 200.2) attributable to Patoromu, while the National Museum has a full-sized ridgepole end, 3 m long, carved with three high-relief figures in Patoromu's unmistakable style (ME.15321). These two large house carvings indicate that Patoromu was also involved in architectural projects. His work is basically Arawa in style but there are some idiosyncratic touches that almost serve as his trademark. At fairly regular intervals in a series of pakati notches, he leaves a short section of plain ridge. In areas of whakarare, he creates a continuous sinuous S-shaped pattern of plain haehae grooves. These two features are unique to his individual style. Patoromu's small neat stylised and naturalistic figures with their delicate rings of paua shell eye inlays do appear to be very similar to Jacob's even down to the occasional use of a bulbous tongue. However, on closer comparison, their stylistic differences become clear and it seems that these similarities are only coincidental.

These similarities between the work of Jacob and the Rotorua carvers described above, both in terms of details of motifs and in overall form of particular innovative items such as the figure-supported bowls, have given cause to wonder whether there had been any actual contact between them. There is no evidence that Jacob ever went to Rotorua, especially during the early formative years of his carving career. If the early 1869 date for Jacob's large kumete (Catalogue number 1) carved at Petone is correct, then it seems that Jacob may have been equally as responsible as the Rotorua carvers for this innovation of this new type of kumete. With no other Te Ati Awa carvers in Wellington making kumete like this, Jacob may have picked up the idea from Rotorua and then developed it according to his own genius. Early bowls with figure supports are known from the East Coast and Wanganui areas, from which Jacob may also have gathered ideas for his compositions.

With regard to this apparent Rotorua element in Jacob's carving style, the carver and art historian, J.M. McEwen has commented:

"I have always considered Jacob to be a product of the Anaha school and I find it hard to see anything of Te Ati Awa in his work. His pakati are pretty much the same as Arawa, while Te Ati Awa had an astonishing range.

The double-tongued koruru head simply shrieks Arawa to me. The pakura edge on the lid also looks like Arawa. I find it hard to believe that Jacob didn't get next to Anaha or his relations at some early period."

(J.M. McEwen, pers. comm. 11 Nov. 1990)

Jacob's surface patterns certainly show some close similarities to those developed at Rotorua and systematised in the later years of the nineteenth century, as exemplified in the samples carved by Anaha Te Rahui for Augustus Hamilton (Mead 1986). In particular, Jacob's surface decoration patterns of rauponga and whakarare, his takarangi spirals, his piko-o-Rauru spirals, and his figure types of koruru, ruru and

wheku are quite close to Anaha's. However, Jacob's manaia faces and figures and his naturalistic figures are very different from the Arawa types. In the absence of any evidence suggesting a direct connection between Jacob and the Rotorua carvers, one can only assume that these similarities are convergencies resulting from Jacob's own efforts to develop a culturally correct and acceptable style.

The assumption that Jacob had to develop his own style is perhaps supported by the limitations and idiosyncracies of his kowhaiwhai patterns. Virtually all of his kowhaiwhai is the same simple pitau series design, replicated in an infinite linear direction by projecting one of the arms of a branching koru scroll. Kowhaiwhai design number 26 (Hamilton 1896) collected by H.W. Williams where it is called *ngutukura* is constructed on the same principle but Jacob's pattern had fewer minor koru branches. Jacob often embellished his kowhaiwhai pattern with a form of embattled infilling which followed the curve of the koru bulbs. This kowhaiwhai pattern was clearly a favourite with Jacob who probably used low-relief kowhaiwhai patterns more widely than any other carver of his time. Only rarely did Jacob vary his standard kowhaiwhai pattern, as on the two paddles (Catalogue numbers 41, 42) where he introduced a pitau series design radiating from a central point.

CARVERS FOLLOWING JACOB

Although Jacob was not carving within the context of a communal carving school where young apprentices are an integral part of the group, he did teach some members of his immediate family to carve. Consequently for a short time, carvings in the style of Jacob Heberley were being produced by a small number of dispersed carvers who never constituted a school in the full sense. With one or two exceptions, this second generation did not teach any other carvers, so that very soon Jacob's style ceased as an active tradition of carving.

The most famous pupil of Jacob was his nephew Thomas Henry Heberley (Fig. 101), the son of Jacob's brother Joseph. Thomas was born at Picton in 1876 where his father was harbourmaster. His mother died on 23 June 1883 and his father on 12 June 1889. Therefore, Thomas as a young boy of 13, and his brother Herbert, came to live with their uncle Jacob in Petone. They both soon learnt the art of Maori carving from Jacob. Thomas was apprenticed as a painter and paperhanger but he continued to carve for occasional commissions and other family purposes, until his skill brought him to the notice of W.J. Phillipps, the Ethnologist at the Dominion Museum, Wellington. For the last ten years of his life, from 4 June 1926, Thomas was employed by the Dominion Museum working at first in the old museum building near Parliament, and in a large shed nearby, then in the new building at Buckle Street, refurbishing and restoring many items in the collections in preparation for the opening of the new displays. This work had only been recently completed when Thomas died at his home in Petone on 15 January 1937 (*Evening Post*, 15 January 1937).

Thomas produced many carvings during his later life, with many of these still held in the National Museum, Wellington. On the restored meeting house *Te Hau-ki-Turanga* in the museum, Thomas carved the *maihi*, the *koruru*, the door *pare*, the window frame, and did the repainting of the original kowhaiwhai patterns. Apart from the original front of the museum's storehouse named *Te Takinga*, all of the carvings on the sides and rear were Thomas's work. The reconstructed war canoe in the museum, *Teremoe*, bears Thomas's carvings along the *rauawa*. He also carved the

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 101. Thomas Heberley at work on the prow of the canoe now in Canterbury Museum. Photo: Alexander Turnbull Library.

prow and sidetrakes for Te Heke Rangatira canoe, now in Canterbury Museum. Other work undertaken by Thomas included restoration on the Otaki Maori Church, the casket to contain the ashes of Sir Maui Pomare, a carved table presented by the New Zealand Government as a wedding gift to the Duke of Gloucester, a carved chair presented to the Welsh Eisteddfod and a carved chair presented to Lord Bledisloe at Picton for the Waitangi Treaty House. As a museum staff member, Thomas was also involved in the transfer back to the museum in Wellington of the original frontal carvings from Te Whai-a-te-Motu meeting house at Ruatahuna and ancient stone-tooled carvings found in the swamps of Waitara. Unfortunately, a major obituary on Thomas (*Weekly News*, 27 January 1937) contains some confusion between him and Jacob.

In his private life, Thomas produced a wide range of smaller carvings, including paddles, walking sticks, tables, lampstands, and wakahuia. His family remember him as a compulsive carver around his own home, carving household furniture such as tea trolleys and lampstands. Nothing was safe from his chisel and mallet, not even the door frames of his rented house nor his daughter's new tennis racquet (Mrs Wright, pers. comm. 13 December 1990). Family members believe that Thomas worked on carvings for the Waitara meeting house and he is also said to have painted the kowhaiwhai in Te Tatau-o-Te Po meeting house at Petone.

In style, the work of Thomas is readily distinguished from that of Jacob. In the finer details of their work, Thomas did not display the meticulous attention to neatness and finish that characterised the work of Jacob. Nor did Thomas manage the sureness of line and curve that Jacob produced with his chisel. Both Jacob and Thomas were chisel carvers with no traditional training in the use of the long-handled



Fig. 102. Herbert Joseph Heberley. Photo: Courtesy of Eric Thomas, Tauranga.

adze. As such, their larger works suffer from a lack of those free-flowing curves and strong lines that can only be achieved by a master adze carver. Thomas was aware of this deficiency in his training which caused him particular chagrin when Pine Taiapa and the other students of the Rotorua Carving School arrived at the Dominion Museum in 1936 to work on Te Hau-ki-Turanga and to carve some of the poupou for the Waitara meeting house, fresh from their training in the use of the long-handled adze under the master-carver Eramiha Kapua of Ngati Tarawhai (J.M. McEwen, pers. comm. 11 November 1990; C.I. Tuarau, pers. comm. 1973).

Perhaps as a result of his museum employment and the consequent need to reproduce various styles, much of Thomas's later work is stilted and rather disjointed. Despite these limitations, Thomas did do some outstanding copy work, most notably the prow now on the war canoe in Canterbury Museum which is modelled on a Ngati Tarawhai prow in Berlin Museum, and the maihi of Te Hau-ki-Turanga which are based on the maihi carved by Natanahira Te Keteiwi for the original Te Poho-o-Rawiri house at Gisborne.

Jacob also taught carving to another son of his brother Joseph. This was Herbert Joseph Heberley (Fig. 102), a younger brother of Thomas. Herbert was born at Nelson on 7 October 1877. On the death of his father in June 1889, Herbert went with Thomas to live with their uncle Jacob and his family in Petone. There he also learnt Maori carving from Jacob. By 1896, Herbert was living in Nelson where he was a member of the Young Persons Scripture Union. At the age of 23 or 24, Herbert left New Zealand to serve as a corporal in the Railway Pioneer Regiment at the Boer War for 14 months between 1900 and 1902. By 1908 Herbert was living in Auckland and sometime in 1909 at about the age of 32 he married Ngatirata at Rotorua, according to Maori custom. They lived at Rotorua where Herbert did casual work for the Tourist Department. On the 25 January 1911 he was killed by an earth fall while working on the Waimangu track (Eric Thomas, pers. comm. 26 May 1989, 9 December 1990).

Only one definitely known carving by Herbert has survived, a walking stick now held by a descendant in Tauranga. This tokotoko (Fig. 103, 104) is 93 cm long and follows very closely on the standard walking stick pattern established by Jacob. It is clearly the work of a very accomplished carver and can be distinguished from the work of Jacob by a greater use of paua shell inlays including a heart-shaped one and more elaborate surface patterning. The nose of the figure is flatter and not as well-formed as those carved by Jacob although it is reminiscent of the flat nose outlined by Jacob on his reproductions of the Dresden paddle. Herbert is said to have carved another similar walking stick which was presented to the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York at Rotorua in 1901 but subsequent enquiries by Eric Thomas have not been able to identify this tokotoko among the Royal collections. Another walking stick held by a descendant of Jacob living in Auckland may also be the work of Herbert, judging by the style (Fig. 105, 106). It is distinguished by very fine elaborate attention to detail and the addition of new motifs including figures derived from hei-tiki and naturalistic lizards. Family traditions also suggest that Herbert may have carved picture frames, tables and trays. Rua Allport of Te Puke and Tauranga who was Herbert's brother-in-law was inspired to carve walking sticks and other items to the basic Jacob Heberley pattern but he did not achieve the high level of technique displayed by Herbert.

Apart from these smaller carvings, Herbert is important in the sequence of the Heberley carving tradition for his production of a carved meeting house, thereby

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

103

104

105

106

Fig. 103-106. Walking sticks. 103, 104. Carved by Herbert Heberley. 105, 106. Attributed to Herbert Heberley.

bringing the tradition back to a community-oriented art after its commercially-oriented focus on an external market developed by Jacob. Thomas Heberley painted the kowhaiwhai patterns in Te Tatau-o-Te Po meeting house at Petone, but Herbert is apparently the only Heberley carver to have been responsible for a communal carved meeting house. This was the meeting house (Fig. 107) at Riverhead, just north of Auckland, built in 1909 by the Ngati Whatua people of the Marae-o-Hine village, a modern settlement with a small population of less than 150. According to Madden's (1966:22) history of Riverhead, this meeting house was:

“largely carved by Bert Eberley [sic] of the Ngatiawa (Nelson), assisted by Tu Hapi and Wiripo Pita. Opened by the tohunga Tumia of the Waikato on the 23 April, 1909, great emphasis was placed upon ancient carvings which graced the interior.”

Judging by the early photographs of this house with its name 'Whatu Tamainupo' inscribed above the central doorway, all of the frontal carvings are the work of Herbert and clearly show their derivation from the idiosyncratic style established by Jacob Heberley at the other end of the North Island. Herbert's involvement in the carving of this house is confirmed in a letter that he wrote to his sister on 5 November 1908 from Auckland where he was apparently working for a jewellery firm (letter held by family, Tauranga). Herbert commented to his sister that "I was going out again last Sunday but I had to go to Riverhead to make arrangements for putting up a house". Nothing now remains of the Riverhead meeting house and Herbert's tragic death at such an early age precluded any subsequent development of the Heberley carving style in the Rotorua area.

As a sign of the changing times, it is also significant that Jacob taught his daughter to carve, a development that would not have been approved in the old tribal world. Jacob's daughter Myrtle, also known as Muki, was slightly handicapped and according to family oral tradition, Jacob taught her to carve. It is said that Myrtle actually carved the fence of her home in Petone (Mrs Miriam Heberley, pers. comm. 6 March 1990). One of Myrtle's carvings has been published, a picture frame around a portrait in Steedman (n.d.) with the caption "Frame carved by Muki Heberley". In the Auckland Museum photographic collections, several carvings held by Heberley

For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 107. Whatu Tamainupo meeting house at Marae-o-Hine, Riverhead, Auckland. The man standing at centre is probably Herbert Heberley. Photo: Price Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library.

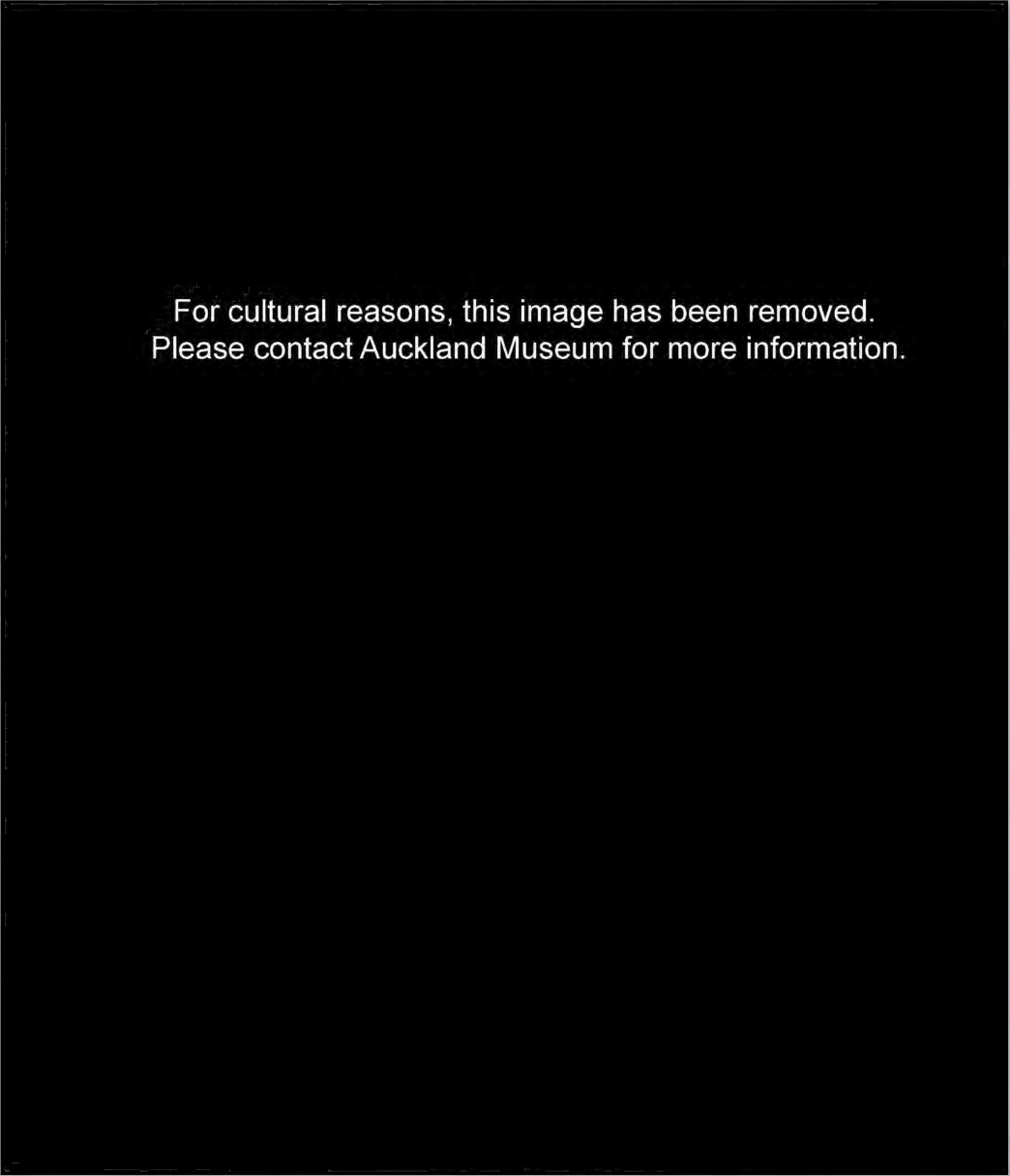
descendants are said to be the work of Myrtle (Negative numbers C4036-45). Among these, the items most probably carved by Myrtle are two free-standing figures, a carved treasure box, a carved frame and even a carved tennis racquet. Myrtle died at the early age of 29, leaving a husband and two children.

Some elements of Jacob's carving style were carried on into a third generation by Ivor Te Puni of Picton who was taught to carve by Thomas or perhaps Jacob Heberley. Ivor is said to have used Jacob's template for his walking sticks. Certainly, a walking stick carved by Ivor Te Puni (Fig. 108) and now in the Island Love collection at Picton is a very close copy of Jacob's standard walking stick composition although the carving technique is not as accomplished as Jacob's. However, a carved bowl (Fig. 109) with a reclining figure on the lid carved by Ivor and now in the Love Collection bears little resemblance to Jacob's style. In his time, Ivor Te Puni was the only practising South Island Maori carver and occasionally he was asked to produce presentation pieces to represent the South Island.

With the passing of Herbert and Thomas Heberley and Ivor Te Puni, the carving style begun by Jacob Heberley came to an end as a continuous tradition. However, many of his carvings remained in private hands and museums where they could serve as inspiration to later beginners. One such later beginner was Wilf Fink, an Englishman who came to New Zealand in 1920. Fink began to teach himself Maori carving in 1934 by studying the collections in the Dominion Museum (*Evening Post*,

For cultural reasons, these images have been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

22 April 1978). He may have known Thomas Heberley at the museum but he certainly saw some of Jacob's walking sticks, as evidenced by the similarity of Fink's carved walking sticks (Fig. 110). Fink later taught Cliff Curtis, another Pakeha, who went on to produce many carvings for the New Zealand Government Tourist Department to use in their promotional campaigns. For the last few years of his working life, Curtis was employed at the National Museum, producing replicas of carvings in the collections for use in educational displays and as handling material.



For cultural reasons, this image has been removed.
Please contact Auckland Museum for more information.

Fig. 110. Wilf Fink with two of his carved walking sticks. Photo: *Evening Post*, Wellington.

CONCLUSION

The world in which Jacob Heberley pursued his carving career was greatly changed from the old pre-European Maori world of Queen Charlotte Sound and Wellington. Just how changed becomes apparent when Jacob's repertoire and his patronage is considered. All of Jacob's carvings were non-functional replicas and models made purely for their appearance and to fulfil a symbolic purpose only. His weapons were never made to harm anybody and in fact were so weak structurally that several are now damaged from normal handling. His figures were almost never intended to represent particular tribal ancestors and they never served to define the tribal identity of their owners. The types of items that Jacob chose to produce were determined by his paying customers and by impersonal market forces, rather than by the needs of any tribal community.

On the whole, the products of Jacob's skill fulfilled their primary purpose within the dominant European society and most of his patrons were members of that society. It is true that some of his carvings were held by Maori families and individuals but whether this occurred by design or chance is not clear. There is no evidence of Jacob working directly for Maori clients but it would have been in the nature of any such transaction that no documentary evidence would have been generated. Certainly, Jacob's name is not associated with any major tribal carving projects. Nor is there any record of Jacob undertaking specific commissions for European visitors or producing objects in large numbers for sale to anonymous tourists. Jacob's reputation seems to rest almost entirely on his production of specific items for special commissions within the sphere of upper-class Wellington European society.

Jacob's life and work can be viewed in various historical contexts and indeed it is these contexts which now define his work and determine how present-day viewers may assess it.

Within the context of the Heberley family and their wide-spread descendants, the memory of Jacob and those of his known carvings provide a focus for family identity and a strong visual link to their Maori ancestry.

Beyond the Heberley family context and into the wider tribal Te Ati Awa context, Jacob is not well-known as a carver. With no large tribal projects associated with his name, Jacob is not recognised as a major Te Ati Awa carver. It is true that some of his works have been accepted and remembered as tribal heirlooms among Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Toa, Te Ati Awa, even Tuhoe and perhaps others, but it is also probably significant that in all these cases, the name of the carver has not been remembered in association with the artefacts. From this tribal perspective, Jacob's work could even perhaps be viewed as the last expression or the last gasp of Te Ati Awa tribal carving, until its artificial resurrection under Sir Apirana Ngata and the Rotorua School of Maori Arts and Crafts in 1928. The personal tradition begun by Jacob did not lead to a new viable tribal tradition and when Ngata sought to revive Te Ati Awa carving style he looked much further back, to classical northern Taranaki style.

It is in the historical context of New Zealand as a developing nation striving to find a distinctive identity that Jacob's carving fulfilled its most significant role. However, in order to fulfil this role, Jacob's art had to sacrifice much of its Maori character and had to allow itself to be appropriated into the European world as a tame model of Maori culture. Jacob's carvings were all tidy and neat non-functional models and replicas, non-threatening to a European government anxious to maintain control of the racial situation in New Zealand. Being a part-Maori person living at a fixed address near at hand to the centre of government and without a powerful tribal community to be negotiated, Jacob could be relied on to produce 'Maori art' that was easily arranged and easily controlled. For this purpose, it was of no concern to which tribe Jacob belonged. This contrasted with the situation in Rotorua and other areas of the country where the supply of suitable Maori symbols was controlled by a strong tribal community in which the artists lived and worked.

This European appropriation of Jacob's art reached its highest level with the royal tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. Already during the preparations for the tour, the government had had problems with the Waikato tribes who wanted to stage their own welcome to the royal party, including a canoe regatta on Auckland Harbour (Bassett 1987:127). However, the government firmly refused to allow this exercise of Maori control of a Maori occasion, and the official Maori welcome was confined to Rotorua where government control could be more strongly applied. But so long as there was no question of who was in control, Maori welcomes and affectations of Maori speech and dress by politicians and officials and even by the Duke and Duchess themselves became an accepted part of royal tour behaviour. The prominence accorded to Jacob's carvings as royal gifts during this tour and soon afterwards at King Edward's Coronation can be interpreted as an aspect of this use of tamed Maori culture in defining a New Zealand identity. Just how powerful this appropriation was, becomes apparent when it is realised that on nearly all the occasions when Jacob's work was presented to royalty by Pakeha politicians no Maori people were present, except for Sir James Carroll.

Bassett (1987:135) has argued that this 1901 royal tour marked the early stages of a developing self-image for New Zealand, one of progress and efficiency in which the Maori had a shared place so long as they were prepared to accept European ideals. In this climate, Jacob's carvings filled an obvious need very successfully, serving as safe, non-threatening symbols of a Maori culture tailored and sanitized to suit the new world of progress. For the period of the 1890s leading up to this tour, Phillips (1983:525) has asked whether any indigenous traditions were spawned in New Zealand during that time. He finds one affirmative answer in the way that certain aspects of Maori culture and mythology were appropriated to support the birth of a typically New Zealand culture and literature. Pakeha New Zealanders were prepared to accept these aspects of Maori culture by the 1890s because the Maori themselves were no longer perceived as a threat. Furthermore, the Maori who figured in this nationalistic vision of 'old Maoriland' was a mythical 'old-time Maori' with decidedly Anglo-Saxon qualities. In this way, Maori culture provided a perfect mythology for a 'Britain of the South'. Phillips (1983:534) goes on to point out that only those elements of Maori culture which fitted existing Pakeha ideals were acceptable, citing the fact that

Pakeha did not accept Maori styles of carving. However, as the case of Jacob Heberley shows, Pakeha of the time did take the intermediate step of employing a Maori carver to supply them with culturally acceptable items for symbolic purposes within the dominant Pakeha culture.

Therefore, the greatest significance of Jacob's work may be found in the success with which it fulfilled these roles, thereby helping to open up the commercial field for other later carvers. Maori carvings became the appropriate gift or decoration for all sorts of situations, in the political and sporting and cultural scenes, at all levels from the most international to the most local. Perhaps it was the success of Jacob's art in official government circles that in some small way may have predisposed Pakeha politicians to support Sir Apirana Ngata in the passing of the parliamentary act setting up the Rotorua School of Maori Arts and Crafts in 1926, just twenty years after Jacob's death.

Acknowledgements. Among the many members of the extended Heberley family who have helped me in the course of this research over the last twenty years, I would especially like to thank Mrs Ngaio Brown of Christchurch, Mr Grant Carde of Whangaparaoa, Mr Edward Chambers of Nelson, Mr and Mrs Murray Fowler of Te Atatu, Mr Neville Gilmore of Australia, Mr Charlie Heberley of Marlborough, Mr Graham Heberley of Lower Hutt, Mrs Miriam Heberley of Thames, Mrs Puti Hookings of England, Mrs Thelma MacMillan of California, Mrs Beryl Moon of England, Mr and Mrs Thessman of Palmerston North, Mr and Mrs Eric Thomas of Tauranga, Mrs Ena Thorpe of Upper Hutt, and Mrs Wright of Auckland. Miriam Heberley was especially helpful and generous with information collected in the course of her own research on the Heberley family.

Others who have helped me are Mrs Nola Arthur of Auckland, Mrs Marama Graham of Dargaville, Mrs L. Harris of Martinborough, Mr Island Love of Picton, Mr Jock McEwen of Upper Hutt, Mr David Simmons of Auckland, Mrs Eleanor Spragg of Auckland, Mr Robert Stout of Featherston and Mr Bernard Tattle of Pauanui.

The first period of this research was carried out while I was employed at the National Museum, Wellington, and I thank the then Director, Dr John Yaldwyn and his staff for their assistance. This study has been completed in my present position since 1986 at Auckland Museum and I thank the Director, Mr Stuart Park, and my colleagues in the Ethnology Department for their assistance. A travel research grant from the C.H. Worth Memorial Fund of Auckland Museum is also acknowledged. Overseas, I am especially grateful to Ms Dorota Starzecka of the British Museum, London for her hospitality and assistance. To all the curators of the other museums mentioned in the text, I extend my thanks for their assistance and for permission to publish the objects in their care. All unacknowledged photographs are held in Auckland Museum, either already in the photographic archives, or taken for this study by Ann Carpenter and the author.

REFERENCES

- ANGAS, G. F.
 1847 *The New Zealanders Illustrated*. London, McLean.
 1972 *Portraits of the New Zealand Maori Painted in 1844*. Text by G.C. Petersen and S.M. Mead. Wellington, Reed.
- ARCHEY, G.
 1977 *Whaowhia: Maori Art and its Artists*. Auckland, Collins.
- BARRATT, G.
 1979 *Bellingshausen: A Visit to New Zealand 1820*. Palmerston North, Dunmore.

- BASSETT, J.
1987 *A Thousand Miles of Loyalty. The Royal Tour of 1901. New Zealand Journal of History* 21 (1):125-38.
- BUTLER, P.
1980 *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha by his son Tamihana Te Rauparaha.* Martinborough, Alister Taylor.
- CARKEEK, W.
1966 *The Kapiti Coast. Maori History and Place Names.* Wellington, Reed.
- CARTER, J.
1965 *Masterpieces from the Sir Henry Wellcome Collection at UCLA.* Catalogue to Exhibition, 6 Dec. 1965 to 13 May 1966. Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles.
- COWAN, J.
1934 *Tales of the Maori Bush.* Wellington, Reed.
- GRABURN, N. H. H. (Ed.)
1976 *Ethnic and Tourist Arts. Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World.* Berkeley, University of California Press.
- GRADY, D.
1978 *Guards of the Sea.* Christchurch, Whitcoulls.
- HAMILTON, A.
1896 *Maori Art. The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race in New Zealand.* Dunedin, Ferguson and Mitchell for the N.Z. Institute.
- HEBERLEY, J.
1947 *Autobiography of James Heberley, January 1809 - June 1843.* Typescript. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- IMPERIAL INSTITUTE
1902 *Catalogue of the Gifts and Addresses received by Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York During their Visit to the King's Dominions Beyond the Seas, 1901.* London, Clowes & Sons.
- LOUGHNAN, R. R.
1902 *Royalty in New Zealand: The Visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to New Zealand.* Wellington, Government Printer.
- MCDONALD, C. A.
1933 *Pages from the Past.* Blenheim, Duckworth.
- MC EWEN, J. M.
1966 Maori Art. Pp. 408-429 in A. H. McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Vol. 2. Wellington, Government Printer.
- MACMORRAN, B.
1977 *In View of Kapiti.* Palmerston North, Dunmore.
- MADDEN, I. B.
1966 *Riverhead, the Kaipara Gateway.* Auckland, Riverhead Jubilee Assoc.
- MEAD, S. M.
1986 *Te Toi Whakairo. The Art of Maori Carving.* Auckland, Reed Methuen.
- MEADE, H.
1870 *A Ride through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand.* London, Murray.
- MONTGOMERY, W. & SON
1922 *Catalogue, Sale by Auction, Earl of Ranfurly Collection, Northland House, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.* Belfast, Montgomery and Son.

- MORTON, H. B.
1961 Recollections of Early New Zealand. *The Rotorua Legend* 1(2):41-51.
- NEICH, R.
1977 Historical Change in Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving Art. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington.
1983 The Veil of Orthodoxy: Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai Woodcarving in a changing context. Pp. 245-265 in S.M. Mead and B. Kernot (eds.) *Art and Artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North, Dunmore.
1990 The Maori Carving Art of Tene Waitere, Traditionalist and Innovator. *Art New Zealand* 57:73-79.
1990a Anaha Te Rahui. Pp. 486-7 in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol 1. Wellington, Allen & Unwin.
1990b Wero Taroi. P. 583 in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Vol. 1. Wellington, Allen & Unwin.
- PHILLIPPS, W. J.
1952 Maori Houses and Food Stores. *Dominion Museum Monograph* 8. Wellington, Government Printer.
1955 Carved Maori Houses of Western and Northern Areas of New Zealand. *Dominion Museum Monograph* 9. Wellington, Government Printer.
- PHILLIPS, J. O. C.
1983 Musings in Maoriland — or was there a *Bulletin* school in New Zealand. *Historical Studies* 20 (81):520-35.
- ROACH, K. J.
1972 La "Madonna and Child" du Musée d'Auckland. *Journal de la Société des Oceanistes* 37:356-7.
- ROWE, W. P.
1928 *Maori Artistry*. Memoirs of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Volume 3.
- SIMMONS, D. R.
1981 Stability and change in the material culture of Queen Charlotte Sound in the 18th century. *Rec. Auckland Inst. Mus.* 18:1-62.
1982 Catalogue of Maori Artefacts in the Museums of Canada and the United States of America. *Bull. Auckland Inst. Mus.* 12.
- SINCLAIR, K.
1951 Some historic notes on an Atiawa genealogy. *J. Polynes. Soc.* 60:55-65.
- STAFFORD, D. M.
1967 *Te Arawa*. Wellington, Reed.
- STEEDMAN, J. A. W.
n.d. *Nga Ohaaki o Nga Whanau o Tauranga Moana. Maori History and Genealogy of the Bay of Plenty*. Tauranga, Private printing.
- STRATFORD, R. L.
n.d. James Heberley. Unpublished typescript, Picton Museum.
- TAYLOR, R.
1870 *Te Ika a Maui: or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. London, MacIntosh.
- THESSMAN, J.
1988 Worser Takes a Maori Wife. Worser the Whaler, number 4. *The Dominion*, Wellington, Thursday, January 14.